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# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

**FBIS-AFR-94-248  
Tuesday  
27 December 1994**

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# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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27 December 1994

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Burundi

### Uprona Quits Government, National Assembly

EA2412131094 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale  
du Burundi Radio in Kirundi 1030 GMT 24 Dec 94

[Poor reception precludes fuller processing]

[FBIS Summary] The president of Uprona, the Unity and National Progress Party, Charles Mukasi, has just announced his party's decision to quit the government and the national assembly as had been decided earlier. He said: "We have written to the prime minister and other Uprona ministers that the decision is effective beginning today." He has also asked members of his party to behave responsibly and avoid chaos.

### Frodebu Urges Talks Before Withdrawal

EA2412140594 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale  
du Burundi Radio in French 0430 GMT 24 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Republic, Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, yesterday, met the political bureau of the Frodebu [Front for Democracy in Burundi—ruling party]. What was discussed at the meeting is read by the party's secretary general and interim president, Leonce Ngendakumana.

[Begin Ngendakumana recording] [Words indistinct] of the political bureau of Frodebu. This Friday 23 December 1994, the political bureau of the Frodebu was received by His Excellency the president of the Republic of Burundi. The meeting focused on the concrete propositions and solutions to the current problems afflicting the institutions of the Republic of Burundi. In its press communique of (?18)/12/94, Frodebu reaffirmed its unshakable commitment to the principles of dialogue as being the only path toward peace and democracy and promised to present a number of solutions and all the necessary accompanying measures to resolve the crisis which followed the election of Jean Minani to the presidency of the national assembly.

It is in this framework that Frodebu has just suggested to the national supreme authorities [word indistinct] solutions and hopes that Uprona [Union for National Progress—former ruling party] will respond to the call for dialogue. Our talks with the president of the Republic were carried out in a climate of understanding and serenity.

Bujumbura, 23 December 1994. The secretary general and interim president of Frodebu, Leonce Ngendakumana. [end recording]

### Frodebu Criticizes Withdrawal

EA2512204594 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale  
du Burundi Radio in Kirundi, 1700 GMT 25 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The interim president of Frodebu [Front for Democracy in Burundi—ruling

party] who is also its secretary general, Leonce Ngendakumana, has issued a statement on the current political situation.

[Begin Ngendakumana recording] Frodebu regrets the unconstructive behavior of Uprona [Union for National Progress—main opposition party] in the current difficulties in the life of the country. The behavior creates more problems in the country.

Frodebu was astounded when it heard the announcement by the Uprona president on this Saturday 24 December 1994, while the Frodebu leadership and the leaders of the country had just announced to Burundi and the international community that a solution to what Uprona calls a problem was about to be found. The sad thing is that Uprona seems no longer to care about laws and consultations. If they did, it would not be understandable why a party would take the liberty to dismantle the institutions of leadership of the country. Uprona announced in its statement that there were other plans for the near future. We ask Burundians to follow up the implementation of the plans.

Frodebu once again denounces all those who promote killings and other criminal activities, such as the ones we have just experienced in at Musaga and Bwiza [both suburbs of Bujumbura], while trying to achieve their goals.

We urgently request the international community to help us investigate the killings of Musaga and Bwiza and the Bujumbura central market, so that we can identify those who planned them and their reasons for doing so. You heard the president of Uprona say that the perpetrators of the killings might be people who were impatient, who waited in vain for a solution to the problem of the president of the national assembly.

Because of all this, Frodebu, urges the government to do everything possible to protect citizens from these killers, because they are known. Let the government use the security forces and the internal administration to find a lasting solution, so that innocent people can stop sleeping in the wilderness.

Frodebu thanks the president and the prime minister for the work they have carried out so far. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### President Urges Respect for Government Convention

EA2612090094 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale  
du Burundi Radio in Kirundi 1700 GMT 25 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] You listened to the speech yesterday by President Ntibantunganya in which he spoke at length about the killings that have been taking place for some days now. He went on to say that of all the people who have been issuing statements, none of them question the validity of the government convention. Let us now bring to you what the president of our country



thinks mainly about the National Assembly and on the need to uphold the laws governing the leadership.

[Begin Ntibantunganya recording] The National Assembly must be respected and protected and made even stronger so that it can become a genuinely strong pillar for us in our bid to uphold the convention of government the parties signed with the government. [passage omitted]

The convention also prohibits Burundians, particularly politicians, to seek to achieve goals by force or to insinuate to others that if their demands are not met nothing can work. We would like to tell Burundians that we were happy to note that in the current circumstances, no one rejected the convention. Instead they all say: Let us look for ways of respecting it and upholding it since there is nothing that we currently see that can replace it in our bid to redeem Burundi. [passage omitted]

I would like to commend here Mr. Anatole Kanyenkiko, the prime minister of Burundi, who showed that he is a mature, wise man for whom the country matters first. [passage omitted]

The government, parties and other independent personalities who attended the talks that led to the convention, must always endeavor to ensure the conventions are adhered to unwaveringly. For this to be possible and to continue, we would like to propose what we think are priority matters which we think should be done and which we are going to implement.

1. The head of state and the prime minister, who are the guarantors of the respect and implementation of the convention, are going to set up a council of wise men to be selected from the government, parties and independent people who are not in parties or in the government, who would study in detail how the convention can be implemented without capricious hindrances by individuals. The result of their work will be forwarded to the council charged with the interpretation and implementation of the convention.

2. The signatories of the convention must adhere to a code of conduct so that no one follows his own caprices. We want this code to be studied and signed in the near future by all these people. We would like the following to be included in the discussion those who signed the code must respect and implement all the resolutions adopted in the National Security Council. The latter was formed at the request by the signatories of the convention. So, all these people must respect its resolutions. From now on, no decision the head of state has signed after being passed by the National Assembly will be disputed by any group of people, as it will have been approved after thorough discussions and agreed upon by mature, wise men and women.

It is also necessary that those who are in the National Security Council understand that they are there on

behalf of the country and not on behalf of a party or their tribe. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### UN Comments on President's Solution to Crisis

LD2412231294 Paris Radio France International in French 2130 GMT 24 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In Burundi two grenades exploded in Bujumbura this evening as the president was delivering his speech to the nation. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya announced that a solution had been found to the political crisis the country is currently going through. For several weeks now, the parliamentary opposition, Uprona [Party of National Unity and Progress], has been calling for the resignation of the parliamentary speaker. Jean Minani is accused of inciting violence against the Tutsis. However, the president did not give any details of the solution that has been found. Listen to the reaction of the UN representative in Burundi, Ahmedou Ould Abdallah:

[Begin recording] [Ould Abdallah] The president delivered a 35-minute-long speech. He gave the background to this crisis and announced at the end that he and the prime minister had found a solution. He requested that he should be given time to implement this solution.

[Correspondent Chantal Lorho] Could the solution mentioned by the Burundi president be the appointment of Mr. Jean Minani—whose resignation Uprona has called for—to a post other than that of the parliamentary speaker for instance?

[Ould Abdallah] Why not? Such a consensus is feasible indeed, especially since his party is in power. He can be appointed to whatever post he wants, and this can be a way of overcoming the crisis. I do not know what Uprona is going to accept or what it is not going to accept, but the position of Uprona is that there are political reasons that mean that, for Uprona, Minani is not acceptable as the second most important figure in the state. The second most important figure is the parliamentary speaker. Should he no longer hold this post, we can imagine—we can even be certain—that there is no reason why he could not hold this new post because of Uprona or other parties, such as the Raddes [Rally for Democracy and Economic and Social Development], the Inkinko [Guarantor of Freedom of Speech in Burundi], the PIT [Independent Workers' Party], or the [name indistinct]. [end recording]

### Parties Back Prime Minister in Decision To Stay

EA2512192394 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in Kirundi 1700 GMT 25 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Alphonse Rugambarara, president of Guarantor of the Freedom of Speech in Burundi; Nicephore Ndimurukundo, the president of the Independent Workers Party; and Onesime Bugabo, the secretary general of Rally for Democracy and Economic

and Social Development, have issued statements supporting the prime minister's decision not to resign.

### **Violence Spreads to Bwiza; Residents Flee**

*AB2312171094 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1215 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tension is still high in the Burundian capital, Bujumbura, in spite of the curfew which was imposed on 21 December. Bwiza was the scene of tension and inter-ethnic clashes which spread to all other parts of Bujumbura this morning. At least 50 people were killed in the clashes. Others, especially Bwiza residents, have fled. Celsius Seginyunva in Bujumbura has the details.

[Begin Seginyunva recording] Yesterday, Hutus and foreign residents in Bwiza had only one thing in mind: All they wanted to do was pack up and leave Bwiza before nightfall. Thus, all throughout last night, Bwiza was gradually emptied of people despite the Bujumbura mayor's call on residents to remain calm. The Bwiza zonal leader, who was in charge of protecting those who chose to stay, also reiterated the mayor's message, but to no avail. Hundreds of families, mostly women and children, did not want to stay a night longer in Bwiza. Things were calm on the night of 21 December. This was partly due to the curfew. When the police left in the morning, a group of looters, mostly Tutsi youths, looted or set fire to the houses which had just been abandoned. Security forces, therefore, had to be dispatched to Bwiza once again to protect those who refused to leave Bwiza undoubtedly because they had nowhere to go, as well as property left behind in the abandoned homes. [end recording]

According to the government spokesman, the violence spread to Buyenzi, western Bujumbura, this morning. Yesterday, the Bujumbura mayor appealed to Bwiza residents to return to the homes they fled three days ago. [passage omitted covered]

### **Hutus, Tutsis Engage in 'Ethnic Cleansing'**

*EA2412135094 Nairobi KNA in English 1002 GMT 24 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bujumbura, Burundi, 24 December (PANA)—Burundi is gradually being balkanized into "Tutsi and Hutu lands" by ongoing ethnic clashes between militias loyal to the country's two major communities. In urban centers and villages these militias are literally carrying out "ethnic cleansing" as each seeks to gain the maximum territory for its respective ethnic group.

The armed gangs have so far ignored calls by Burundian President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya for moderation.

Hutus are threatened in northern Burundi's Ngozi, Kirundo and regions bordering Rwanda, while Tutsis are being chased by Hutu gangs from Bubanza, Cibitoke and

rural Bujumbura. In north Bujumbura's Kamenge, Kinama and Mutakura which are inhabited by the majority Hutu, Tutsis have become unwanted. South Bujumbura's Musaga and Ngagara, Jabe and Nyakabiga in the capital's central part is virtually out of bounds for Hutus.

Hutus have been forced to leave the central area of Bwiza en masse after last Wednesday's [21 December] clashes between young Hutus and Tutsis. At least ten people got killed in those clashes.

### **One Dead, 3 Injured in Gitega Ethnic Clashes**

*AB2612094094 Paris AFP in English 0858 GMT 26 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bujumbura, Dec 26 (AFP)—One person was killed and three injured in ethnic clashes Saturday [24 December] night in Gitega, Burundi's second city, military and hospital sources said Munday. It was said to be the most serious outbreak of violence in Gitega since the 1993 massacres which followed the assassination of the country's first Hutu president Melchior Ndadaye.

According to the hospital's director Dr Tharcisse Ndayizeye, who was called out to the scene, a grenade was thrown at a house in the Magarama district. Three people, all members of the Tutsi ethnic minority, were injured.

The people who were unscathed immediately converged on the piece of land from which the device had been thrown and a Hutu man was killed in the ensuing fight.

"The incident is very worrying, we are afraid that we are going to see the same violence here as in Bujumbura," the director said.

Dozens of people have been killed in ethnic violence in the capital, which has been under a night-time curfew from 7.00 p.m. to 5.00 a.m. since last Wednesday. But Sunday night was quiet, with no reports of serious shooting incidents or explosions.

The latest violence comes as the country is experiencing a political crisis, triggered by the election on December 1 of the speaker of parliament Jean Minani.

The Tutsi-led Unity for National Progress (Uprona) claims he incited last year's violence against the Tutsis and is calling for his resignation. On Saturday it announced that it was pulling out of the coalition government and the national assembly.

President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya announced before Christmas that a solution had been found and called on the population to be patient, without specifying what the solution was.

On Sunday night Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko, a member of Uprona, let it be known he would not step down despite the decision of his party's leadership.

Some 50,000 people lost their lives in a wave of carnage that swept the central African highland nation after the coup-bid by the Tutsi-dominated army in October 1993, in which the Hutu president Ndaye was killed.

#### **Ex-Minister Reportedly Assassinated 24 Dec**

*AB2612114094 Paris AFP in English 1134 GMT 26 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Bujumbura, Dec 26 (AFP)—A former Hutu minister belonging to a Tutsi-led opposition party was murdered at his home here Saturday [24 December], his entourage said Monday. Sunday, state radio had presented the death of Ladislas Barutwanayo, a former transport minister, as an accident.

But his entourage said Monday that Barutwanayo, a member of the Tutsi-led Unity for National Progress (Uprona), had been assassinated at his home by a lone gunman. Barutwanayo is the brother of the junior minister for cooperation, Luc Rukingama.

If confirmed the Barutwanayo slaying would be the latest in a series of murders or attempted murders of leading politicians since the start of the year.

Meanwhile one person was killed and three injured in ethnic clashes Saturday night in Gitega, Burundi's second city, military and hospital sources said Monday. The latest violence comes as the country is experiencing a political crisis, triggered by the election on December 1 of the speaker of parliament. [passage omitted]

### **Rwanda**

#### **Belgium Minister on Debt Relief, Aid to Rwanda**

*BR2212152994 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 22 Dec 94 p 5*

[Report by Paul Vaute: "Belgium Relieves Debt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] New credit lines are likely for Rwanda. Belgium has decided to meet \$2 million of the \$9 million in overdue payments which was blocking the

Kigali government's file at the World Bank. The decision, first revealed on Wednesday by Foreign Minister Frank Vandenbroucke at a meeting of the Chamber Foreign Affairs Committee, was confirmed by the Development Cooperation office. Other contributors will be the United States, Canada, Norway, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

The successor to Willy Claes subsequently supplied details of Belgian contributions to Rwanda, totalling 1,697 billion Belgian francs [BF] since April: BF762 million in emergency aid; BF100 million to finance Unamir [United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda]; BF15 million to finance human rights observers; BF400 million in structural aid to neighboring countries for refugees; plus a further BF410 million to "help the Rwandan Government to create a favorable climate for the refugees' return."

Frank Vandenbroucke indicated that the institutional logistics expert already sent by the Health Ministry will be joined shortly by another from Justice and Agriculture. He also confirmed that an additional BF185 million will be allocated for the various departments, and the dispatch of support missions to help, among other things, with seed-planting, Kigali hospital, and the fight against AIDS.

#### **Rwandan Stalemate**

When questioned by Anne-Marie Lizin of the PS [French-speaking Socialist Party] and Geert Versnick of the VLD [Flemish Liberal Party], among others, the minister stressed multilateral projects. It is Belgium's insistence, he stated, which has led to the date for the International Conference on Refugees being brought forward, from March to February. As to the scope of renewed contacts between Belgium and Zaire, he specified that: "Kengo is in agreement with our analysis of the refugee problem. Is that because he is trying to win favor? I do not know. But he knows he is well-advised to find a solution to this refugee problem."

Finally, on the question of Burundi, the policy is to wait and see, but while applying pressure: "I have asked them to submit a number of proposals for our renewal of concrete aid. I am still waiting."



## Djibouti

### Government, FRUD Faction Sign Agreement

LD2612170994 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In Djibouti an agreement was signed this morning between the authorities and the rebel faction of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy [FRUD]. Christophe Boisbouvier reports on this solemn agreement:

[Boisbouvier] Idris Harbi Farah, Djibouti interior minister, and Ougoureh Kifle Ahmed, secretary general of this FRUD faction, signed the agreement at the People's Palace. President Hassan Gouled and some 100 officials, including the French and U.S. ambassadors, attended the ceremony.

The main points of the agreement are: the end of the armed struggle; the alliance between this FRUD faction and the ruling party, the Popular Rally for Progress, for the management of affairs, in other words, the inclusion of one or two members of this faction in the government; and the reform of electoral lists before the next general elections.

This agreement has led to a very hostile reaction from the other components of the FRUD, the one led by Ahmed Dini, which believes that this only amounts to the surrender of a couple of men who will now rule with the authorities without getting anything for it.

This agreement has led to very different reactions in the rest of the opposition. On the one hand, Djama Elabe, of the Party for Democratic Renewal, and Aden Robleh, of the National Democratic Party, have approved it—they were at the People's Palace this morning. But on the other hand the opposition united front has said that it sees this as a dangerous maneuver led by the regime and dissidents - a maneuver which, it says, puts real peace opportunities further out of reach.

## Somalia

### Salvation Alliance Praises Role of U.S. Troops

EA2212214794 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ambassador Abdullei Shaykh Isma'il, the general spokesman for the Somali Salvation Alliance, SSA, has held a press conference at Hotel Ammana, Mogadishu, on the political and security situation in the country and the SSA's official stance on finding a just solution to the Somali issue.

At the press conference, which was attended by local and international journalists, the spokesman explained issues concerning the continuing SSA conference at Hotel Ammana, the SSA's stance on the American troop deployment in Somalia, the recent visit to Somalia by an Arab League delegation, political prospects after the UN

Operation in Somalia [Unosom] troop withdrawal, the security situation at Mogadishu International Airport and the main port, and the fighting in Makka and Madina Districts in Mogadishu, as well as the overall situation in the country's regions where the Somali National Alliance [SNA] was committing crimes.

He said the SSA welcomed the American troops with an open heart. He referred to the unforgettable role played by the American troops in saving the Somali people during the worst starvation, saying that those other foreign troops who came to Somalia did not help much as they were only restricted to their camps. [sentence as heard] The SSA spokesman said it was important that the United States facilitated the peaceful return to their countries of the foreign troops who joined the American troops in Somalia.

Commenting on the SSA conference taking place at Hotel Ammana the spokesman said the conference was proceeding smoothly. He said the SSA policy was to reach consensus among the majority and minority, practicing goodwill and unity, and avoiding inflexibility. Ambassador Abdullei Shaykh Isma'il also said that the SSA welcomed the Ethiopian Government's offer for a reconciliation conference to be held in Addis Ababa, which, he said, the SSA considered as something of great help to the Somali situation. However, he said the SSA did not yet know the SNA's reaction to the offer.

On the role of the Arab League, he said the recent visit to the country by the league's delegation came at an appropriate time and was a prelude to the foreign minister's delegation. He said the SSA welcomed their efforts. Speaking particularly about the main Mogadishu port and the international airport, the spokesman said these were important arteries for trade and livelihood, and hence nobody should administer them by force as if they were their private property. He said it was important to reach an agreement on how to administer these two centers for the sake of respecting Somali interests. He suggested that they should be declared a fighting-free zone, and no private individuals should be allowed to run it. If that failed, the world should run them directly, taking into account the needs of people and to prevent fighting, until a broad-based government was formed which would then appoint people to run them.

On the current fighting in the Makka and Madina Districts, he said the SSA deeply regretted this because the warring communities were brothers and had been good neighbors for centuries. He made it clear that the SNA was playing these brother communities off against each other. He reiterated the SSA call for a cease-fire.

Speaking on the overall situation in the country's regions, he said the SNA was destabilizing the regions of Shabeellaha Hoose, Shabeellaha Dhexe, Jubbada Hoose, and Hiiraan. He said the SNA should cease bringing problems to civilians, given that efforts were being made to bring about peace and reconciliation there. Always Mohamed Nur, alias Always Mudeh, our correspondent

who covered the press conference, also told us that the SSA spokesman answered all questions posed to him by the local and foreign journalists with frankness.

### **Somaliland President Imposes State of Emergency**

*EA2312195194 Hargeysa Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 2 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] A statement released by the presidency of the Republic of Somaliland, says that a state of emergency has been imposed on the Republic of Somaliland. The statement added that after considering the Public Protection Law No. 21, enacted on 21 October 1962; after taking into account Article 30 on the pledge made toward the Republic of Somaliland; in line with the approval made by the Somaliland Council of Elders; and after considering the situation in the Republic of Somaliland; the president of the Republic of Somaliland decreed:

1. The implementation of the state of emergency;
2. The state of emergency will stay until it is clear that the country has returned to normal;
3. During the state of emergency the president of the Republic of Somaliland has the power to order the arrest and detention of anyone believed to have been involved in activities detrimental to peaceful coexistence and the very existence of Somaliland;
4. Anyone found guilty of anti-government propaganda and other anti-Somaliland activities through the use of telephone, radio, or by means of land, sea, and air transport shall be arrested and detained and then brought to court to answer for their crimes;
5. Telephones, radio equipment, vehicles and transport, the ones mentioned above, shall be confiscated;
6. Before the president reaches decision to confiscate assets, he will seek advice and suggestions from the security committee;
7. During the state of emergency, the security committee composition is as follows: the president of the Republic of Somaliland, the vice president, the minister of internal affairs, the minister of defense, the commander of the National Armed Forces and the commandant of the national police force;
8. This decree shall be known as the Executive Decree for the State of Emergency;
9. This decree shall last as long as the state of emergency is in place.

### **Egal Appoints Regional General Administrators**

#### **Awdal Region**

*EA2312211394 Hargeysa Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 10 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] A statement released last night by the presidency of the Republic of Somaliland has

disclosed the appointment of the general administrator for the Awdal Region [northwest Somaliland] until the security situation changes there. The statement said the situation in the Republic of Somaliland was very sensitive and hence the need for regional orientation and the implementation of the state of emergency declared on 1 December 1994.

During the state of emergency it was planned to restructure the administration in the region's districts, implement disarmament, (?identify) areas for the implementation of the central government revenue and mobilize a national emergency army. Therefore, Mr. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal decided to appoint Mr. Ahmed Hussein Omaneh, the assistant minister of fisheries and maritime resources, as the general administrator of the Awdal Region.

#### **Berbera District**

*EA2312210494 Hargeysa Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1700 GMT 12 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] A statement by the Republic of Somaliland presidency today disclosed that Mr. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, the president of the Republic of Somaliland, has appointed a general administrator for Berbera District. After considering the sensitive situation in the Republic of Somaliland; after taking into account the continuing fighting in Hargeysa; after considering that Berbera is the most important town for the economic existence of Somaliland and the need to defend, administer properly and maintain the district's security; and also in view of the state of emergency declared in the country; the president decided to appoint Mr. Hassan Ali Diriyeh, the minister of state for foreign affairs, as the general administrator of the district.

#### **Seylac Town**

*EA2312210994 Hargeysa Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 14 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Considering the sensitive situation in the Republic of Somaliland where there is fighting in Hargeysa; considering Seylac town's prime importance to the country's economy and its strategic importance to the existence of the Somaliland nation; and in order to defend and streamline its administrative structure and maintain security in the area; and also in view of the government's decision to declare a state of emergency in the country; Mr. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, the president of the Republic of Somaliland, has decided to appoint Mr. Abdullahi Gireh Jeh, the minister of culture and literature, as temporary general administrator of Seylac town.



### **Somaliland Minister Condemns Hostile Faction**

*EA2312193694 Hargeysa Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 30 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Osman Abdullahi Jama, the Republic of Somaliland foreign minister, today disclosed that the world considered the group which was responsible for the fighting in Hargeysa a terrorist group which had no objectives for their fighting. He said the OAU, neighboring countries, Europe, and others held this view. He said Somaliland nationals living outside the country had received messages from the world condemning the matter and expressing their regret about the fighting in Hargeysa. The minister said Somaliland had received assistance from the world in the form of food and medicines. He added that the World Food Program agency had brought rations for displaced people into the country.

On diplomacy, he said the minority group living in Mogadishu, where Aidid had granted them asylum, did not represent Somaliland and the Somali National Movement [ruling in Somaliland]. He said their activities would be made public very soon.

### **Abgal Militias Drive Murasade Out of Medina**

*AB2312154994 Paris AFP in English 1532 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mogadishu, Dec 23 (AFP)—Abgal militias loyal to self-styled president Ali Mahdi Mohamed have driven Murasade militias loyal to General Mohamed Farah Aidid out of the strategic Medina district in south Mogadishu, a victory likely to endanger the coming withdrawal of UN troops. The Abgals have also captured the road to Afgooye, 30 kilometres (18 miles) south of the capital, witnesses said.

Sporadic small-arms fire continued in Medina Friday [23 December] after two rounds of fighting this month which have left at least 130 dead and 350-400 wounded, but at a low level. Bermuda, where Abgals and Murasade also cohabit, was quiet. In the first round of fighting, one UN soldier was killed by a stray bullet and nine others were wounded, also by stray fire.

The victory of the Abgals, a sub-clan, like the Murasade, of the Hawiye clan, puts them in a position of strength

close to the UN compound and also the port and the airport, from which the last UN troops will withdraw by March 31 following the failure of Ali Mahdi and General Aidid to agree on a government of national unity.

With Aidid's militias controlling the rest of south Mogadishu, this heightens fears that the two factions will fight for the port and airport—and for UN equipment—as the soldiers and UN civilians pull out, protected by US and possibly other troops.

The last of the Indian contingent left Mogadishu Friday after serving in outlying areas, reducing the UN military force to 10,257, down from 15,000 about a month ago, UN officials said.

All UN forces are now in Mogadishu.

The officials said a rocket-propelled grenade hit a hospital operated by Malaysian UN troops during the fighting over the past few days, but caused no casualties, although it damaged the building.

Other stray fire damaged two UN vehicles at the airport, they said, but no UN troops were hurt and the airport remained open.

The militias battled it out with mortars, rocket-propelled grenades, heavy machine-guns and 14.5mm cannons as well as rifles, wounding many non-combatants, many of whom have fled the city. Abgals celebrated after capturing the camel market.

The Murasade militias, who switched allegiance from Ali Mahdi to Aidid earlier this month, remain in Aidid-controlled south Mogadishu, but have been pushed up to close to the "green line" dividing the south from the north, which Ali Mahdi controls.

Many residents of Medina fled the earlier fighting for the Middle Shabelle region north of the capital despite shortages of food and medicines there.

The fighting was apparently sparked by the defection of Murasade leader Mohamed Qanyere Afrah from Ali Mahdi's camp to that of Aidid. Somalia has been without a government since the ouster of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

**'Chill' in Relations With U.S. Observed**

MB2512170794 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in  
English 25 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Simon Barber in Washington]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] South Africa's [SA] recent UN vote against a US-sponsored resolution critical of Fidel Castro's human rights record came at an unfortunate moment.

Days later, Miami congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Cuban-born refugee from the very kind of abuses Pretoria chose not to condemn, was named by the House of Representatives' new Republican majority to chair the Africa panel of the International Affairs committee.

Whether or not it would have made any difference to the government's decision, the Mandela administration can at least be forgiven for not knowing that the principal voice on matters African in congress would be a Cuban exile.

As the new year dawns, South Africa is confronted with a congress in which its staunchest supporters, the Congressional Black Caucus, have become a minority within a minority, while the politicians now in control are at best not terribly interested. To start out by treading on the corns of both Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Jesse Helms and the chairwoman of the House Africa subcommittee was not the soundest way for SA to attract the Republicans' attention.

This might not matter so much if the overall relationship remained as healthy as it seemed when President Nelson Mandela addressed a joint session of congress last October. But there is a distinct early autumn chill in the air suggesting the post-election summer romance is coming to an end. And it's not just the Republican capture of congress that is causing this. SA transition is no longer thrilling President Bill Clinton and his team either.

The Clintonites had high hopes that some of South Africa's magic would rub off on them if they could be seen as contributing significantly to its success. They therefore put a lot of effort into piecing together their much-ballyhooed \$600m (R2.1-billion[rands]) package of aid and investment promotion. Alas, it hasn't earned them many points.

Mr. Mandela has dismissed the assistance as "peanuts". Closer to home, the package has come under fire as a "politically correct" domestic affirmative action programme. Worse, the new year is expected to bring disclosures of how the US Agency for International Development is squandering millions on SA organisations that do not have the capacity to use it properly.

As for the administration's efforts to promote trade and investment, they are running into the reality that the SA business community, while perfectly happy to have Americans buy SA stocks and bonds has no interest in

US competition. US firms complain they are encountering projectionist barriers.

At least one major company hoping to build a new plant in South Africa has been made to feel most unwelcome by the local industry it would be forcing to compete.

Tempers are running so high among US petrochemical firms seeking to break into SA that Sasol [South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation] could find its exports to the US under scrutiny from the US International Trade Commission.

In many such instances, South Africans have justifiable grievances of their own. The US market is no cinch to get into either. Trouble is, South Africans all too often respond to such difficulties by accusing the Americans of being hypocrites and huffily circling their wagons.

Far more serious at this stage is the growing perception that the SA government harbours certain tendencies hostile to US interests. It is in this respect that the advent of a Republican congress could prove critical.

There is no question that the scale's allocation and delivery of US aid to South Africa will come up. The chairman of the spending subcommittee most directly responsible, Senator Mitch McConnell, has indicated he is especially keen to axe African programmes which he sees as spawning dependency.

Supporters of South Africa will be able to say that by most of Mr McConnell's standards, South Africa is a worthy recipient: it appears committed to free trade and market reforms, is by no means' what Senator Helms calls a rathole, and scores relatively decently on the Heritage Foundation's Index of Economic Freedom which the Republicans wish to use as a guide in deciding who gets what.

Yes, the critics will say, but how reliable is South Africa geopolitically. The ANC-led government remains close to pariah regimes like Cuba and Libya. It does not appear to care that the arms procurement agency of its predecessor sold munitions smuggled from the US to Saddam Husayn. And isn't it a little odd that after Defence Minister Joe Modise had talks with a high-ranking emissary from Iran, a shipment of SA arms was found headed in the direction of the Iranian-backed terrorist group Hizbollah? .

From there, it is but a short step to laws being written requiring the administration to certify that South Africa does not pose a proliferation risk before any aid money is disbursed. The distrust of America felt by members of both the old and new SA orders is strengthened and is reciprocated by US politicians who were never entirely sold on the ANC. The autumn chill turns wintry.

Thanks to the recent Cuba vote, Mrs Ros-Lehtinen is unlikely to stand in the way. Incoming ambassador Franklin Sonn has his work cut out for him.

### Armcor Case Casting 'Shadow' Over U.S. Ties

MB2512173694 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in  
English 25 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Simon Barber in Washington]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The failure of President Nelson Mandela and his cabinet to make Armcor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] co-operate with the US Justice Department in resolving 1991 arms smuggling charges is casting an ever darker shadow over US-South African relations.

It is also undercutting Mr Mandela's credibility, as he promised President Bill Clinton he would see the matter settled.

Administration officials are angered by Armcor's apparently hardening position—and baffled that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Defence Minister Joe Modise, who are seen as the two key political actors in the affair, are letting Armcor have its own way despite a strongly worded demarche delivered by the US embassy.

Concerns are mounting that hardliners from both the old and new orders—the former still bitter over American sanctions and the latter still ideologically hostile to the US—have found common ground and are happy to see a wedge driven between Washington and Pretoria.

Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs Lynn Davis has put off sending a delegation to South Africa to formalise a variety of arms proliferation agreements.

She reportedly believes there is little point in signing proliferation pacts with South Africa while the government appears to be circling the wagons around a state agency that sold US-made munitions to Iraq's Saddam Husayn.

Republicans, who will be running the US Congress next year, said privately that continued intransigence by Armcor would weigh heavily in their thinking on the fate of South Africa's \$600 million (R2.1-billion [rands]) aid package.

As it is, the case is costing South African taxpayers millions of rands in legal fees. Armcor has retained Colonel Oliver North's attorney, Brendan Sullivan, and is paying for the defence of a key American defendant.

Furthermore, thousands of jobs may be on the line. The chances are diminishing daily that the UK will select Atlas Aviation's bid to supply Rooivalk helicopters to the British army under a \$3 billion (R10.5-billion) contract.

The UK Ministry of Defence is running a risk analysis on bids for the contract. It is considered highly unlikely the Rooivalk will make the grade without technology supplied by American firm Loral, which Atlas is barred from receiving as a result of sanctions stemming from the Armcor indictment.

Armcor and two related companies, Kentron and Fuchs Electronics, plus seven South African employees, were indicted in November 1991 by a Philadelphia grand jury for conspiring with a local company, International Signal and Control (ISC), to smuggle hundreds of millions of dollars of US military technology to South Africa throughout the 80s in violation of US export controls and the UN arms embargo.

Especially galling to the US, some of the equipment was on-sold to Iraq and used against US forces in the Gulf War.

All but three of the nine Americans indicted in the case have pleaded guilty. [passage omitted]

The Americans who have pleaded guilty are co-operating with the prosecution and some are expected to testify in what could turn out to be the most comprehensive expose ever of Armcor's embargo busting. [passage omitted]

### Mandela Asks for Prayers in Christmas Message

MB2412133094 Johannesburg SABA in English 0836  
GMT 24 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Dec 24 SABA—President Nelson Mandela on Saturday in a Christmas message urged South Africans to pray for peace and stability. Here is the full text of the message, issued by the President's Office in Pretoria:

"Fellow citizens, Christmas is a time of celebration and joy. It is a time for reflection, meditation and prayer.

"For the first time South Africans mark this day under conditions of equality. At last we can attend prayers as equal citizens. This is the Almighty's gift to the South African people, for it is He who gave us the strength to soldier on and persevere, even under the most trying conditions.

"On this occasion I urge all South Africans to pray for peace and stability in our land.

"In the short history of our democracy we have demonstrated a remarkable capacity to stand together and act as a united people. Let us build on this beautiful foundation.

"This is also a time for compassion. Blessed as we are in what has been given us, we dare not forget that millions of South Africans are without jobs, lack proper shelter or sufficient food to keep hunger at bay. There are many who cannot be with their families or friends on this day. There are still too many whose lives are blighted by ill health or darkened by the shadow of violence.

"As we approach the new year each of us will be taking resolutions to guide us in the next year. As we ponder about these issues let everyone ask the question 'what can I do to make the lives of my fellow citizens better?'



"I send a message of love and admiration to all our people, admiration for what we have done in the past year. Through our collective effort we have done something we can bequeath to future generations with pride.

"I wish you a peaceful and joyous Christmas."

#### **Mandela's Rejected List of Nominees Detailed**

*MB2312154694 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 23 Dec-5 Jan 94 p 6*

[Report by Gaye Davis "at the ANC conference"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Both Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba's names were absent from the controversial list of handpicked national executive committee (NEC) nominees drawn up at ANC President Nelson Mandela's behest but resoundingly rejected by delegates.

Confronted by a potential grassroots revolt by delegates who believed the list interfered with their democratic right to nominate and vote for whom they choose, the list was withdrawn on the eve of elections for the ANC's highest decision-making body.

ANC leaders insisted afterwards that the NEC largely reflected the racial, regional, ethnic and gender balance Mandela had hoped to achieve when he asked a committee chaired by outgoing ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu to compile the list, based on regional nominations.

But the list was in trouble from the start. Dissenting delegates dubbed it the "Indian option". It is understood Mandela got the idea on a visit to India, where the Congress Party uses the system. Sources said Mandela opted for it because he was alarmed at the factionalism emerging in the run-up to the conference as African populists embarked on intense, undercover lobbying.

Despite warnings from NEC members that it would meet strong resistance, he insisted on going ahead, sources said. The six-member committee charged with drawing it up included South African Communist Party general secretary Charles Ngqula and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] general secretary Sam Shilowa. Sources said once branches learnt of the list, some weeks ahead of the conference, SACP [South African Communist Party] and COSATU head offices were inundated with calls of protest.

"Apart from being undemocratic, the list itself was flawed and failed to do what it was intended to do," a delegate said. "It reflected a degree of provincial nepotism in the regions, for example. Also, names like Winnie Mandela and Mokaba's did not appear—and ANC branches wanted to know why people they'd nominated were not on it."

At a post-NEC elections press conference, Mandela said he felt "no disappointment at all" at the rejection of his initiative, saying regional executive committees accepted the proposal because he'd been able to brief

them. It was decided not to put the list before the conference because branches had not been properly briefed.

In the event, delegates elected 60 additional members to the NEC from a list of 235 candidates. Mokaba and Winnie Mandela scored the third and fifth-highest number of votes respectively while former Transkei ruler Bantu Holomisa barrelled in first with 1,915 votes—a signal that populism pays off. Another militant, Tony Yengeni, came in with 912 votes. Together, they comprise a sort of shadow cabinet.

#### **Mandela Nominates Motsuenyane**

Nelson Mandela, deeply concerned about the state of the ANC's finances, is understood to have nominated businessman and leader of the senate Dr Sam Motsuenyane for the post of treasurer general.

Motsuenyane's name and that of Henry Makgothi were circulated ahead of voting for the top six positions in the executive at the ANC's national conference. However, ANC chief whip the Rev Arnold Stofile was eventually elected unopposed, delegates being told that "two other candidates" had withdrawn.

With foreign funding evaporating and a membership system that secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa says has failed to work, the ANC faces a lean time in a year when it will have to mount a multimillion rand campaign for local government elections.

Mandela's backing for Motsuenyane as treasurer general indicates a desire for the post to be held by someone with financial expertise, rather than being a political appointment.

#### **De Klerk: ANC Cannot Dictate New Constitution**

*MB2312171594 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] National Party leader F.W. de Klerk says the fact that the ANC does not have a two-thirds majority means that it will not be able to draft a new constitution on its own.

He was responding to reports that the ANC resolved at its congress in Bloemfontein that it wanted a constitution that would cater for ordinary democratic majority rule. He said the constitution would be written by the Constitutional Assembly, and with the involvement of all the parties. The ANC could not dictate what the new constitution would stipulate. Mr. de Klerk added that the writing of the constitution should follow the same procedure taken when the current transitional one was (?drafted).

#### **De Klerk Criticizes Mandela Plan for Right Wing**

*MB2312181494 Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 23 Dec 94 p 2*

[FBIS Translated Text] President Nelson Mandela's version of a plan to use former President P.W. Botha to

make right-wingers denounce their plans of violent action is totally unacceptable, Deputy President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk was reacting to questions about President Mandela's announcement of the plan in an interview with the British newspaper, THE OBSERVER.

President Mandela said that Botha had earlier this year agreed, at Mandela's request, to persuade right-wingers to suspend their plans for violence. Botha had said he would help arrange a summit meeting for right-wing leaders where they would be encouraged to support the building of a new, democratic South Africa.

However, the plan fell through due to De Klerk's "hostility" toward Botha, President Mandela said.

De Klerk said it was true that President Mandela had briefed him about his discussion with Botha.

"However, I find his version about what my stance was and his choice of words in this regard unacceptable. My view about how the right wing should be treated was at no stage the result of so-called 'hostility' toward Botha.

"There are certain basic differences of opinion between myself and Botha, but we express these differences in a dignified manner and on the basis of mutual respect," De Klerk said

De Klerk said that, on the occasion that President Mandela was referring to, he differed with Botha on the treatment of a possible militant right-wing onslaught.

De Klerk said he is always prepared for discussions with all leaders and has even held talks with right-wing leaders. However, he has been cautious not to arouse expectations that would conflict with his and the National Party's views.

At the time, the ANC—due to its fears—was inclined to arouse expectations among right-wingers that it would not have been able to fulfill, based on its policy.

"I believe that the actual course of the matter, with regard to right-wing politics to date, is proof of the correctness of my stand," De Klerk said.

Botha was reluctant to comment on the matter.

#### **ANC To Open Political Education Center**

*MB2312164594 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 23 Dec-5 Jan 94 p 5*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Premises in Johannesburg have been found to house a political education centre for cadres as part of an 18-point plan to rebuild the ANC.

Secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the school would open its doors in March and that political education officers were "in place". Up to 80 cadres at a time would spend weekends at the centre for training in organising, electioneering, office administration and ANC history and policy.

His report on the state of the organisation identified "speeding up and deepening" political education within the movement as one of the most important challenges the ANC had to address.

Other moves to strengthen the ANC include:

—A workshop with the ANC, SACP [South African Communist Party], COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], SANCO [South African National Civics Organization] and Contralesa [Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa] to lay the basis for a unified campaign for local government elections.

—The national executive committee will monitor MPs and MPLs [members of provincial legislatures] to ensure they "establish dynamic relationships" with ANC structures.

—Branch organisation will be tightened.

#### **Disgruntled MK Cadres Protest in Durban**

*MB2312173194 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Disgruntled MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] members blocked West Street in central Durban today and threatened to resort to violence in the country if their grievances were not met. The protesters, who included dissidents from the Wallmannstal Defense Force base outside Pretoria and several who had undergone training in townships, dispersed after an hour, under heavy police escort.

#### **W. Mandela Refuses To Comment on Diamond Charges**

*MB2512201194 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Dec 94 p 5*

[Report by Nicola Koz]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Winnie Mandela has refused to explain her alleged involvement in a diamond-buying trip to Angola.

The SUNDAY TIMES reported last week that the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology allegedly hired a Lear jet in June last year to send businessmen, including her son-in-law, Prince Muzi Dlamini, and her bodyguard, John Lawrence, to collect a parcel of diamonds from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The report, based on affidavits presented to court, sparked off widespread controversy, with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki announcing an investigation into the claims.

But a spokesman for Mrs Mandela's office, Alan Reynolds, said: "If you want to make up a story you can. This is a very sensitive issue and Mrs Mandela will not



grant you an interview or respond to a list of questions. She has decided not to make any statements for the moment."

He said "not to bother" faxing a list of questions for her attention.

Mrs Mandela dodged SUNDAY TIMES reporters this week at the 49th ANC NEC [National Executive Committee] conference in Bloemfontein, saying she was busy and unavailable for comment.

In response to last week's SUNDAY TIMES report, Mr Mbeki said there would be an investigation, but no further details have been forthcoming.

### **Boesak Not To Resign as Ambassador to UN**

*MB2512203494 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Dec 94 p 5*

[Report by Gary Collins and Ayesha Ismail]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] An embattled Dr. Allan Boesak says he will not voluntarily resign his post as South Africa's [SA] new ambassador to the UN in Geneva in spite of the allegations of abuse of funds donated to his Foundation for Peace and Justice.

The Denmark-based Dan Church Aid, which was used as a conduit to funnel funds donated by Nordic governments to the foundation, has claimed that R2-million [rands] thereof was used by foundation members for "private purposes".

Dr Boesak said money was loaned to staff and there was nothing wrong with this. "The principle of staff loans is common in every single nongovernmental organisation that I know of. The issue is not whether loans should take place or not, but how much and what the conditions for repayment are."

He denied that donor funds were handed out freely to staff members or that funds were not used properly.

"There is no question of me withdrawing my nomination for the United Nations post unless the president specifically asks me to do so," Dr Boesak said.

"I know I have not personally enriched myself from the funds donated to the foundation and will therefore not voluntarily tender my resignation. All of this is in the hands of the president. He and I will get the full facts on the table at the end of the investigation."

He dismissed an NP [National Party] call for President Mandela to dump him.

"The National Party has everything to gain from discrediting me and taking pot shots at the ANC, so I am not surprised. After I have spoken to them (the Danish agency), I will know where I stand. Then I will ask to see the president," he said.

Dr Boesak also launched a scathing attack against the media for their handling of the issue of misappropriation of funds.

"The allegations made against me go far beyond mere questioning...there is a political agenda behind this which scares me to death."

The secretary-general of the agency, Christian Balslev-Olesen, confirmed that the foundation's financial director had made a sworn affidavit last week to a lawyer acting for the agency alleging that R1.3-million had been "misused" during 1992 and 1993. The lawyer was in possession of the foundation's books and had copies of all financial transactions.

Mr Balslev-Olesen said the foundation's financial adviser, Freddy Steenkamp, had made a "confession" to the lawyer during a meeting in Cape Town last week.

"The lawyer took Mr Steenkamp to a police station where he signed an affidavit in the presence of a policeman who put the SA police stamp on it," he said.

According to the affidavit, the money was used for staff loans instead of "projects" and "programmes". "The money was meant for the people in the rural areas, for development, health and education," Mr Balslev-Olesen said.

He said that while Mr Steenkamp confessed to taking a loan of R800,000, loans were given to other foundation staff members as well. According to reliable sources, four staff members of the Foundation received money.

"It is still being investigated whether Dr Boesak received funds and, if so, whether he was aware of it," Mr Balslev-Olesen said.

He said the attorney, whom he would not name, had briefed him and the Danish foreign minister on his findings in Copenhagen on Thursday. The attorney had also briefed Swedish and Norwegian aid agencies.

The agency is considering laying criminal charges against "those responsible", he said.

The foundation's trustees and auditors, M Brey and Associates were also under investigation.

A senior partner of the auditing firm, Mustak Brey, said on Friday: "We have been trying to contact the offices and officials of the foundation without success.

"All I can say is that normal audit procedures were carried out and the audit files were received this week. There is no sign of misappropriation of funds. However if funds never came into the foundation's bank account or were never accounted for, no auditor could pick this up."

A senior government source said: "It is expected of SA representatives abroad, particularly heads of mission, to have impeccable reputations. It is contrary to diplomatic

practice for some one to assume office with a financial cloud hanging over their head."

The director-general of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, refused to comment. "The appointment was not initiated by the department," he said.

#### CP Cites Reasons for Financial Problems

MB2212195594 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans 16 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translate Text] Politicians and journalists who keep tabs on the CP [Conservative Party] shouted for joy when the CP had to "fire" senior officials because the party no longer had the funds to pay them. The real truth is that the CP has undertaken to reorganize its head office personnel. The truth about the personnel situation, in short, is that Mr. C. van den Heever has reached retirement age and Brig. C. Smith's year of assistance had expired. Mr. Lem Theron has been appointed to another post as of 1 January.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg told PATRIOT that the CP's income had dropped because its supporters—due to the Mandela government and the preceding National Party government's poor handling of the country's economy—were unemployed.

Added to that, the government's weak education policy, which has lowered education standards, has forced CP supporters to make substantial contributions to the establishment of Christian Association schools. The Afrikaner Republic Working Committee's [ARWC] activities also place heavy demands on the CP's resources.

Support for the CP is growing at a faster rate as the government's affirmative action measures are being implemented and teachers become retrenched. The country's general economy is weakening, and Afrikaners have to face up to the reality that they will not get a volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland] either from government or from Parliament. The CP is therefore increasingly playing its role as the only opposition against the so-called government of national unity. For a long time, the ARWC has realized that freedom for the Afrikaners will not be handed to them on a plate. This freedom will have to be earned. This concept is spreading fast among Afrikaners, thereby increasing the CP's support base. The CP will continue to play its role in the opposition and will present self-determination as an alternative.

Dr. Hartzenberg again thanked Dr. Lem Theron for his trust and dedicated service to the CP and for the steadfastness that he displayed in his public life. The CP's chief organizing secretary, Mr. Wouter Hoffman, will take over his duties.

#### Diamond Business Strong Despite Russian Sales

MB2112124994 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Dec 94 p 16

[Report by Derek Tommey]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Many De Beers' shareholders will feel a lot better following publication last night of the Central Selling Organisation [CSO] diamond sales figures for the second half of this year.

Reports of large-scale Russian diamond sales outside the Central Selling Organisation led to fears earlier this year that the CSO figures for the second half of the year would be well down on a year ago and this would have a major knock-on effect on De Beers.

But although the reports of heavy Russian sales were true (according to market sources they totalled at least \$500 million in the full year) and forced the CSO to reduce supplies to the market, the improved economic conditions and buoyant demand for diamonds especially in East Asia came to the rescue of CSO.

It reports that 1994 second half sales amounted to \$1.670 million, which is down only \$153 million on the \$1.823 million a year ago.

Total CSO sales for the year amounted to \$4,250 million which was \$116 million or 2.7 percent down on 1993's figures.

CSO sales in rands rose 5.9 percent to R15.0 billion [rands]. In view of the large-scale Russian selling the CSO figures look good. It is clear that but for the Russian sales, the CSO would have had a really outstanding year.

For De Beers' shareholders the CSO figures should bring considerable relief.

They have seen the price of their shares—the real South African blue chip—slump by 26 percent from R120.75 in August to R89 at the end of November before staging a minor recovery in the past two weeks.

While there is no certainty that De Beers shares will quickly start recovering to their old levels, the CSO figures do put the Russian selling into perspective. They suggest that the Russian threat to the diamond market is much less than many people had feared.

Retail demand for diamond jewellery remains high in East Asia and shows signs of improvement in the United States.

Demand in Europe and Japan continues to be generally weak in local currency terms although there are signs that the economies in these areas are beginning to recover.

Overall, world consumption of diamond jewellery has remained resilient and 1994 world retail diamond jewellery sales are expected to at least match last year's record level.

However, any significant improvement in the overall demand for rough diamonds is dependent on an improvement in the Japanese and European consumer markets, say diamond traders.

**Water Restrictions Imposed as Drought Continues***MB2112165994 Johannesburg Radio South Africa  
Network in English 1600 GMT 21 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] With the central interior and eastern parts of the Republic sweltering in three-day heat waves and maize areas in the grip of a severe drought, the Weather Bureau reports that rainfall is expected to decline as the El Nino effect starts to influence weather patterns next month.

Weather Bureau spokesman Willem Landman said that the El Nino has already begun to influence rainfall in the summer rainfall areas, but no drastic changes in existing conditions were expected as the El Nino reached the peak of a new phase next month.

The hot weather is compounding problems in Ballito, on the north coast, where residents face a water shortage. They have been asked to use water sparingly to allow the town's reservoirs to fill up. And despite recent good rains in certain parts of the Northern Transvaal, the area remains firmly in the grip of the drought, with the situation being aggravated by daily temperatures in the mid to high thirties. Strict water restrictions are in force in all major urban centers in the region.

In most parts, the water table has dropped drastically, and bore holes are drying out. The Water Crisis Board is engaged in a desperate search for new water sources. The Defense Force is transporting water to drought-stricken outlying areas, but this effort has almost come to a halt as a result of insufficient funds. Farmers have been especially hard-hit, and organized agriculture has warned that the country faces famine unless crisis plans start soon.

In the [Orange] Free State, a second town, Wepener, has imposed strict water restrictions as a result of the searing heat in the province during the past few weeks. Last week, water restrictions were introduced at [name indistinct]. The temperature at Bloemfontein dropped slightly to 34 degrees today after having peaked at 36 degrees yesterday and on Monday.

**South African Press Review for 23 Dec***MB2312114994*

[Editorial Report]

**THE STAR**

Secrecy at ANC Conference—A page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 23 December says it was "honourable" of President Mandela to "reprimand some delegates for 'disgraceful behaviour'" at the ANC congress at the University of the Orange Free State. "To deliver a dressing-down irrespective of the resentment it might cause among young hotheads, is a mark of true leadership. What is confusing, however, is the nature of the offences." What "'incidents' drew the president's ire?" According to university authorities, "a

couple of bathrooms were left in a mess." Other sources suggest "drunken loutishness and—more seriously—harassment of women delegates: the point is the stories will become more and more outlandish until the bare truth is told."

Need for Coalition Government—Graham Linscott writes in an article on the same page that there are two ways of looking at the role of the government of national unity, GNU. "One is to see it as a transitory palliative to minority communities (mainly the whites) along the lines of the Zimbabwean constitution, which gave whites a special bloc of representation in parliament for 10 years. The other is to see it as an ingenious mechanism which deserves to become permanent. It draws all available talent into the business of government." But it is "easy to understand the ANC's urge for 'full majority rule'." Without it "emancipation seems incomplete." However, simple majority rule of the variety handed down by the colonial powers, "has not been a success in Africa. In Africa multiparty adversarial government was divisive and dangerous and the response was often the one-party state." Linscott says it is possible to see the GNU—"or a voluntary coalition—as a sophistication of the one-party system. The council of elders is segmented into different party/economic interests. The Third World sector is in government without excluding the wealth-generating First World sector. There is an automatic check against nepotism and corruption because each grouping watches the others."

**WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN**

Mandela's Anti-Corruption Challenge—The page 18 editorial in Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN for 23 Dec-5 Jan comments on President Mandela's challenge in his opening speech at the ANC's national conference in Bloemfontein this week to "launch a campaign to set the country on a new moral footing." The editorial believes the first thing the campaign could look at is the case of Dr Allan Boesak for his "questionable use—or is it redistribution?—of European funders' money." Another issue to be looked at is the news that Winnie Mandela "has allegedly been involved in dubious diamond deals in Angola. Strange activity for a deputy minister, but then she has been mixing with some of the oddest business characters." Also, Joe Matthews, who is in the GNU "is wanted for fraud and theft in Botswana." "We can see the foundations of your campaign taking shape, Mr President. And while you are about it, there is one other thing you can address to prevent future corruption: implementation of the ANC policy of openness and transparency at your own national conference."

**BUSINESS DAY**

ANC Conference Viewed—"The popular choices of delegates at the ANC Bloemfontein conference are not the politicians outside observers would have selected as embodying ANC policies and the attitudes displayed



thus far in the government of national unity," notes Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English on 23 December in a page 4 editorial. Among those attracting most votes are "some unashamedly populist leaders—such as Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba—who might well have been expected to do well. However, both have attracted criticism for notorious statements, bordering on incitement to violence and tinged with racial hatred, and there will be some concern that such unwelcome sentiments might be gaining ground in the body of the ANC." However, the voting result "does need to be seen in the context of the ANC conference as a whole, where expected sharp criticism of a reconciliatory leadership style failed to materialise, where demands for more revolutionary strategies were muted, and where a mainstream free market notion such as privatisation got the go-ahead. When it came to consideration of the realities and practicalities of governance, sense always prevailed."

**South African Press Review for 25 Dec**

*MB2512150594*

[Editorial Report]

**SUNDAY TIMES**

Government Facing 'Critical Test'—"This year, South Africans were freed: not freed from want or insecurity or the inevitable blundering stupidities of authority, which will sadly be with us, but freed in a purer sense," begins the page-18 editorial in Johannesburg **SUNDAY TIMES** in English on 25 December. "In April, the country became a democracy, and after that nothing could or

should be the same again." In 1995, the government will face the "critical test" of proving it can govern. "To do that successfully, the ANC requires a strategy and a determination to exercise its authority even-handedly and firmly. It must have both, because only then will it be able to generate the confidence that engages notoriously cynical businessmen here and abroad, that keeps skills in the country and, above all, persuades black South Africans that patience in the short term will be rewarded by visible, real benefits in the medium-term."

**South African Press Review for 27 Dec**

*MB2712113294*

[Editorial Report]

**BUSINESS DAY**

Traditional Leaders' Role Problematic—One of the "toughest problems" facing politicians in 1995 is the role and status of traditional leaders, according to the page 4 editorial in the 27 December edition of Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English. "Tackling the issue is not something that can be delayed for much longer as the success of local government elections in 1995 will hinge to a large degree on whether traditional leaders are satisfied with the process," says the editorial. "The stark fact is that these leaders are powerful in their communities and their co-operation is necessary for implementation of democracy at the local level and for attempts at grassroots reconstruction to stand a chance." The editorial concludes: "Respect for traditions and the nurturing of a diversity of cultures is an essential part of the new South Africa, but it is clear that some old ways are going to have to change."

**Angola****Savimbi Says Not To Take Power by Force***MB2612144694 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 2030 GMT 25 Dec 94*

[From the "Ultima Hora" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], today made a strong appeal for peace and cooperation in Angola. In a message to mark both Christmas and the 28th anniversary of the founding of UNITA, Savimbi also said that he does not intend to take power by force. He left a clear warning, however: Peace must not be followed by humiliation. The Angolan rebel leader said democracy can only be a reality in Angola if there is political equilibrium.

Savimbi did not give any further details, but wished his principal political rival, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, a merry Christmas. This was Savimbi's first public statement since his interview with the French newspaper LIBERATION this week, during which he demanded new guarantees for the confinement and disarmament of his troops.

**Samakuva Views Peace Process, UN 'Slowness'***MB2312153794 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[Report on interview with Isaias Samakuva, head of the UNITA delegation to the Joint Commission, with unidentified correspondents in Luanda on 22 December]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Isaias Samakuva, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] delegation to the Joint Commission, was asked yesterday to comment on the current stage of the peace process, which is marked by mutual accusations of cease-fire violations. The UNITA official was at Radio Angola for two hours yesterday to answer seemingly countless questions from journalists who were concerned about cease-fire violation accusations from both sides. Isaias Samakuva admitted there are problems with regard to implementing the cease-fire agreement but he added, almost in the same breath, that nothing is lost yet.

[Begin Samakuva recording] There may be—or there may have been—some violations. I know that the government has reported to the Joint Commission some violations here and there by the UNITA armed forces. Such violations have also been reported by Radio Angola. However, to answer your question as to whether the UNITA forces have been on the offensive during this period, I must tell you no, they have not been. Most people know that it is the government that has been on the offensive. It is the government that has taken an offensive stance. Be that as it may, there have been incidents, which we have all regarded as normal—if for no other reason than the duration of the war.

Now, when I raise our fears here, that does not mean we are discouraged. If we were discouraged, perhaps it would not be worth the trouble to bring our concerns to the fore. The curious thing—this has to do with your earlier question about a so-called crisis—is that we all are deeply aware of the fact that this process must move forward. [end recording]

The United Nations shares some of the responsibility for the whole process, so the success or failure of the recently signed Lusaka Accord will hinge to a large extent on the depth of the UN commitment.

[Begin recording] [Samakuva] What we have found is that the United Nations goes about things very slowly. Such slowness must surely have something to do with certain conditions, but there are no doubts at all that such slowness must be overcome. We have felt the concern of UN Angola Verification Mission [Unavem] officials who work with us on a daily basis, but it has to be said that we feel they have problems breaking out of their particular operational pattern. It looks to us that this is how the United Nations operates, anyway.

[Unidentified correspondent] In his interview, Dr. Savimbi said the United Nations appears to be less concerned about the Angolan conflict than about other international conflicts. Are you of the same opinion?

[Samakuva] My perception is that this is not just Dr. Savimbi's view. All of us would agree that Angola has been left by the wayside, at least to a certain extent. In Namibia, for example, it had about 7,500 observers in the run-up to the elections. Those observers were there when they were needed, and there were no money problems, yet Namibia's population is about one tenth of Angola's population. The Mozambican peace process wound up recently, and we also saw what happened there. Thus, I feel that such concerns have not been conveyed only by Dr. Savimbi. Such concerns have been expressed by all those who follow the Angolan peace process. [end recording]

**Denies UNITA Sabotaged Power Lines***MB2312182094 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Isaias Samakuva, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] team to the Joint Commission, today denied that his party's armed forces were to blame for sabotage to two pylons that left the city of Luanda without electricity. Isaias Samakuva noted that his party's strategies do not include social and economic sabotage operations, adding that such accusations are fresh attempts to discredit UNITA and its commitment to the peace process.

The leader of the UNITA team to the Joint Commission made these remarks just before he met UN special representative Alioune Blondin Beye, prior to the start of the Joint Commission plenary session. Angolan Armed



Forces Spokesman Jose Manuel Jota yesterday accused UNITA of using explosives to destroy the two pylons.

#### **Meeting Between FAA Chief, Ben Ben Uncertain**

*MB2312125094 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently General Joao de Matos proposed a meeting with Arlindo Pena Ben Ben, chief of staff of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces. UNITA has reacted, saying it is ready to send Ben Ben to Sao Tome and Principe in the next 48 hours.

Meanwhile, a source with the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff says the meeting might not take place on the dates proposed by UNITA because Gen. Joao de Matos is out of the country.

#### **Chivukuvuku: Government Not Instilling Confidence**

*MB2312123994 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Ambassador Abel Chivukuvuku, who has returned to the fold of the party leadership after being kept in government custody for a long time, told the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel on 22 December that the government's warmongering posture does not instill confidence in the sides and for the successful outcome of the peace process. Speaking in Huambo, the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] diplomat said there should be real security guarantees for Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. He noted that the government should make the necessary gestures, indicating that it has no ulterior motives. Abel Chivukuvuku added: It is not sufficient to issue denials. He noted that the Armed Forces do not operate on their own—they execute orders issued by politicians. Abel Chivukuvuku regretted the distortions that certain circles in the MPLA's [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] news media organizations have made about President Dr. Savimbi's interview with the French newspaper LIBERATION. [passage indistinct]

#### **Moco Inaugurates National Consultation Council**

*MB2012181894 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Social Consultation Council met in Luanda today under Prime Minister Marcolino Jose Carlos Moco's chairmanship. The inaugural session that saw the National Social Consultation Council's creation took place at the Interior Ministry's assembly hall this morning [words indistinct] already approved by the Council of Ministers. It includes representatives of associations and trade unions, private business, and the farming sector. Prime Minister Marcolino Moco said at the opening that the Council's aim will be to keep the government informed about the difficulties

facing the people, thus facilitating healthy communication between the government and the people.

[Begin Moco recording] The creation and establishment of the National Social Consultation Council reflects a decisive move forward in the government democratization process. It does in fact reflect the establishment of a healthy partnership between the government and the citizen, at whom all government action is ultimately aimed. Today's world requires from governments that they constantly make an effort to consult with the people to learn about their needs and aspirations. The citizen knows better than anyone else what his real priorities are. Democracy will never reach its zenith in this country without the constant practice of dialogue, but that is undoubtedly what will happen here. I see the National Social Consultation Council as the obvious meeting place for ideas to be expressed freely by all those who have already grasped that diversity does not threaten unity but, quite the contrary, adds to it. No Angolan is allowed not to know about the profound difficulties we experience at this stage. [end recording]

Prime Minister Marcolino Moco said this is a time of peace and the government will work to strengthen and perfect its support mechanisms.

[Begin Moco recording] Up to now, the government has had to exist on an economy of resistance. It has had to give priority to defense matters and to the upkeep of an enormous multitude of war-displaced people and refugees. Despite all the risks involved, the government began to implement economic reform measures that must be strengthened and perfected now within the framework of a multifaceted transition process. We are all aware that the Angolan economy continues to suffer from serious imbalances and considerable structural distortions. The war had an important impact on the government's general performance. It drastically limited the government's ability to act concerning social welfare matters. [end recording]

### **Malawi**

#### **Chihana Sworn In as Second Vice President**

*MB2312172994 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] After much bickering, Chakufwa Chihana, leader of Malawi's Aford [Alliance for Democracy] party, has been sworn in today as the country's second vice president. It took President Bakili Muluzi some effort to persuade him to come into the UDF [United Democratic Front] government after the May multiparty elections. And even when he agreed, there were cries that it was all unconstitutional, and the creation of the post is being challenged in the courts. [passage omitted]

## Mozambique

### Chissano Not To Appoint Any Renamo Governors

*MB2312181594 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The new government was sworn in today in a ceremony led by President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano, who did away once and for all with whatever doubts remained on the subject: the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] will not have governors in those provinces where it won the majority of the votes.

[Begin Chissano recording] There is the issue as to whether Renamo members should be appointed governors in those provinces where that party picked up most of the votes. I say no. We are not going to do so, precisely because I think that the fact that they won the majority in those provinces is good reason for appointing ministers [as heard] who will be faithful to the government rather than to Renamo. Not doing so would amount to a complete division of the country and (would harm) the government of those provinces. In view of that, I think it would be wrong to do that, and my conscience will not allow me to do such a thing. I would like to make it clear that no Renamo militants will be appointed provincial governors.

Let me point out, though, that our concern will be to appoint governors who will be able to follow the ideals of national unity and reconciliation and who will respect citizens of all political backgrounds, including Renamo. Be that as it may, they must be representatives of the central government, and they must be faithful to the Mozambican Government and the president of the Republic, in particular. [end recording]

### Dhlakama Laments Decision

*MB2312211794 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 2030 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[From the "Ultima Hora" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new government was sworn in in Mozambique this morning. The failure to include Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] officials, or independents, in the new government came as a disappointment to some people. Speaking earlier this evening, Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama expressed disappointment and regretted the criterion followed by President Joaquim Chissano.

[Begin recording] [Dhlakama] This is a democracy, and President Chissano was the man who won the elections. He thinks of this new government without the inclusion of officials from Renamo or the other parties. This means that President Chissano is far from fulfilling the promises he made during the electoral campaign, when he said he might include private citizens, technicians, and intellectuals, as long as they were worthy. From what

we have seen so far, he has not complied with his promises. Nevertheless, I do not think this is serious. The most serious thing of all is the manner in which he has gone about it. He has returned the very same people, the very same Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo], and the same faces to the new government. We do not think that there has been any change. Be that as it may, that is his responsibility. He was the one who won the elections.

[Unidentified correspondent] Speaking to the media this afternoon, President Joaquim Chissano also announced he did not intend to appoint any Renamo officials as provincial governors to those provinces where Renamo won most of the votes. There had been expectations that some of those posts might have been reserved for Renamo, but that does not appear to be the case. What is your response to this development?

[Dhlakama] It is regrettable. It looks to me that President Chissano has not yet grasped the meaning of democracy in Mozambique. I do not see that he can have successes, because the fact is that the people in the country's central and northern provinces would have liked President Chissano to have started moving toward profound change in the direction of democracy, thereby beginning the history of democracy in this country.

We are well aware that the new Mozambican Constitution does not allow any party to just appoint its governors, but, if you recognize that we have worked together in this process of peace, democratization, and reconciliation among brethren, it should not have been too hard for President Chissano to say that Renamo officials would be appointed governors of the provinces where Renamo won. After all, that would be the way Renamo would assist President Chissano. The fact that he has rejected Renamo officials as provincial governors will mean that he will now have to face the consequences. I do not think he will be able to score successes in those central and northern provinces.

[Correspondent] What do you think such consequences might entail?

[Dhlakama] First of all, the people will not look too favorably on President Chissano's rejection. As you know, when the people expect something and it does not turn out as they had hoped, they become disappointed. The people are the majority. If they were in the majority in those provinces, then they had the majority over Frelimo itself. My impression is that the governors will be isolated by the people of those provinces. The governors will see for themselves that they will not achieve successes in those central and northern provinces. [end recording]

### Unamo Criticizes Chissano Remarks

*MB2412170294 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 24 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Mozambican National Union [Unamo], an extraparlimentary opposition

party, has criticized the president of the Republic for his statement made in an interview after the swearing in of the new government members. In a communique, Unamo said President Chissano's statement that he cannot appoint opposition members to the new government is not reconciliatory. Unamo said the statement demonstrates that there is lack of democratic trust and that nothing will change in Mozambique.

#### New Government Members Sworn In; Chissano Speaks

MB2312114794 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Mozambican Government formed after the first multiparty elections was sworn in today. The ceremony was officiated by the Mozambican head of state elected in the first multiparty elections held in the country. The following is an excerpt of Joaquim Chissano's speech at the swearing-in ceremony:

[Begin Chissano recording] We are witnessing a swearing-in ceremony that looks like all the others we have held in the past. This ceremony, however, has a special meaning in that it is somewhat different from the others. This ceremony takes place after the first multiparty general and presidential elections were held in Mozambique. During the elections, many promises and undertakings were made about the country's future. Naturally, Mozambicans have been anxious to know the government team that will execute the program of action that won the elections.

I am very pleased to be here today. This ceremony comes in the wake of consultations I had day and night with citizens, departing government members, and other officials to try to find the right people to execute that program. I must say that our country has many talented people suitable for this job. But we had to choose those who could do a better job in meeting today's challenges, not only because of their commitment, but also their courage, resolve, and loyalty to the national cause. We had to adhere to a number of patterns. Obviously, we could not choose anybody with the same qualities. We hope that the people that have been chosen will fulfill their duties with the same courage and resolve they showed when they agreed to take their posts.

Fortunately, I have had the opportunity of talking to each of the government members that have been sworn in, except for one who was not able to be here today. I am aware that he has other commitments. I am referring to Deputy Foreign Minister Daniel Antonio. So I can add that I trust you all. I am almost certain that we will not disappoint our people. [end recording]

#### More Government Members Named

MB2312084194 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The governors of Nampula and Zambezia Provinces, the two main electoral constituencies of the country, have been relieved of their duties

and appointed cabinet ministers. Former Nampula Province Governor Alfredo Gamito is the new minister for state administration. Former Zambezia Province Governor Carlos Agostinho do Rosario is the new minister of agriculture and fisheries. Several presidential decrees have been published in the government gazette [BOLETIM DA REPUBLICA], announcing the formation of the new government. [passage omitted]

Minister for social action coordination	Alcinda Abreu
Minister of public works and housing	Roberto Costley White
Deputy minister of public works and housing	Agostinho Salvador Mondlane
Deputy minister of mineral resources and energy	Castigo Langa
Deputy minister for social action coordination	Filipe Samuel Mandlate
Minister of transport and communications	Paulo Muxanga

#### President Chissano Delivers Christmas Message

MB2412171994 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 24 Dec 94

[Christmas message to the nation by Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano on 24 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozambican women, Mozambican men, compatriots, dear friends: This is the first Christmas celebration marked in the country after the holding of the first multiparty legislative and presidential elections in the country last October. During this period of celebrations, I do not want to fail to take this opportunity to express a word of love to all the Mozambican people.

We are on the eve of celebrations marking Jesus Christ's birthday anniversary—Christmas, Family Day. This is a day when every unit of our society, the family, realizes the ideals of love, fraternity, and solidarity. Christmas is an excellent occasion for families to reflect on peace and unity among each and all Mozambican families.

We are aware that we are marking these celebrations in the midst of various economic and social difficulties resulting from the war that destroyed lives and important infrastructure, as well as the drought that has hit the country. This being the case, not all of us will be able to mark these celebrations in an equal manner. What is important, however, is to keep in mind the true meaning of the day that we celebrate. With our will and unselfish work, we will be able to build a better future and have better Christmas celebrations next year.

I would thus like to wish all Mozambican families a happy Christmas, a happy Family Day.



**Dhlakama Delivers Christmas Message**

*MB2412185494 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 24 Dec 94*

[Christmas message to the nation by Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama on 24 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sisters and brothers: During this Christmas period, Family Day, I would like to convey to you my message of peace and hope. This is the first Christmas that is being celebrated in democracy after the holding of the first free multiparty general elections in the country. We are now experiencing peace and freedom. Today, we can begin to live our dream. During this Christmas period, we can begin to have renewed hope and optimism, despite our concern in seeing that the government officials we all expected to see continue to be the same old officials without any competence. All the same, we will together create conditions for [word indistinct] and progress. We must all, therefore, have renewed hope and goodwill for the restoration of peace.

**Parliament Resumes Proceedings Without Renamo**

*MB2112125194 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 21 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The first multiparty parliament is still sailing in murky waters. The Assembly of the Republic began meeting this morning, but the session was marked by Renamo's [Mozambique National Resistance] absence. Apparently, there is still a tug-of-war between the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] and Renamo benches over voting procedures. The Renamo bench abandoned the Assembly's last session, stating that the Parliament chairman should be elected by secret ballot. Meetings between the two benches have been held to try to overcome the crisis. The issue was even raised at the 20 December meeting between President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama.

The question now is to find out Renamo's reasons for not attending today's session. We spoke to Renamo MP Raul Domingos.

[Begin recording] [Domingos] As you know, I think the session has been called precipitously. It would have been better to call for the session once we had reached a consensus, bearing in mind that we have been negotiating. We were about to reach a consensus, but that was not a strong reason to call for a session. Unfortunately, the session has been called, but since we had not reached a consensus over the reasons that led us to leave Parliament at its first session, we thought it would be better to negotiate at the level of party benches. The idea is to reach an agreement on Renamo's active and effective participation in Parliament instead of having a repetition of what happened during the first session.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is Renamo's position now?

[Domingos] We will continue to try to reach an understanding at the level of party benches. The crux of the matter is that Frelimo is trying to conduct parliamentary proceedings like in the old one-party assembly in which voting was either unanimous, by acclamation, or by a show of hands. So we are trying to agree on when voting should be open and secret. We think sensitive issues about the country's political and socioeconomic life should be settled by secret ballot. [end recording]

At this morning's session, Standing Committee members were elected. In addition to Eduardo Joaquim Mulembwe, its chairman, the Standing Committee includes 14 members, of whom seven are from Frelimo, five from Renamo, [words indistinct] party, and the Mozambique National Party. The Standing Committee's Frelimo members are Eduardo Joaquim Mulembwe, Abdul Carimo Mohamed Issa, Abdala Mussa, Alcido Eduardo Ngwenha, Ana Rita Sithole, Armando Emilio Guebuza, Carlos Moreira Vasco, and Salome Moiane. Renamo has not named its members yet. The UD will be represented by Antonio Palange and Marcos Juma.

Earlier, we spoke to Deputy Armando Guebuza and asked him to comment on Renamo's absence:

[Begin Guebuza recording] Are we dealing with a legal situation or not? Are we dealing with a situation that is being created outside the framework of institutions or not? Basically, we think that as a signatory to the Rome Accord, in terms of which it agreed to abide by the laws of the Republic of Mozambique, Renamo agreed to play the democratic game as defined by our society. If Renamo refuses to comply with those principles, one cannot say that society is rejecting Renamo. Instead, it is Renamo that is pushing itself aside. Obviously, we have a responsibility. That is to find ways of making Renamo understand that it has an important role to play as the second most important political force. But a minority cannot stall the process and hold it for ransom. [end recording]

**Namibia****Ministry Confirms Buying Attack Helicopters**

*MB1612190794 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English 9 Dec 94 p 3*

[Report by Lucienne Fild]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Ministry of Defence yesterday confirmed it has bought four Alouette assault helicopters which are expected to arrive from India within the next two weeks.

According to Defence deputy minister, Phillemon Malima, the purchase had been necessitated by the creation of the NDF's [National Defense Force] air wing.

For the past year his Ministry had been investigating ways and means of acquiring aircraft in addition to the planes donated by America. A deal had been struck with

India, where the French designed and manufactured helicopters are assembled under license, and a deal was concluded.

According to Malima, Namibia "as a nation in the making" could not only depend on donations and leasings.

He said the helicopters were also needed to assist in the case of natural disasters for example floods during the rainy season.

Malima was not prepared to comment on the price paid for the helicopters, saying that it was premature. He did, however, say that the Government had bought the four helicopters at a very low cost. "We paid less than N\$20 million [Namibian dollars] for them".

Meanwhile, the Government is still disputing that it has bought a Lear jet, despite numerous media reports quoting informed and reliable official sources as having confirmed the purchase.

Minister of Works, Transport and Communications, Marco Hausiko, yesterday maintained he had no knowledge of the alleged purchase.

### Swaziland

#### 'Banned' Political Parties Profiled

MB2512192994 Mbabane THE SWAZI NEWS in English 24 Dec 94 pp 10-11

[Report by Banele Ginindza]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] [passage omitted] In order to keep up with current political events, below are some of the currently active, though banned, political parties.

These are namely the People's United Democratic Movement (Pudemo), the Swaziland Youth Congress (Swayoco), the Swaziland National Front (Swanafro), the Convention for Full Democracy in Swaziland (Cofudeswa), the Ngwane Socialist Revolutionary Party (Ngwasorep), the Ngwane National Liberation Congress (NNLC) and don't forget the treason-trialists-at-inception Swaziland Communist Party (Swacopa).

Each on their own harbour reservations about how they and others in the country are governed and as such have their own views on how they wish to be politically led.

All too are bitterly opposed to the ruling government, "the Imbokodvo National Party."

Pudemo led by Mbabane businessman Kison Shongwe, is for a parliamentary democracy under the set up of multi-party politics.

Its Secretary General, Manzini Lawyer, Mr Dominic Mngomezulu said Pudemo is an organisation one of whose objectives is for there to be a national constitution that will enshrine basic human rights.

"We believe that our starting point is a constitution that will enshrine the basic human liberties and such a document must be a product of a national convention," he said in an interview.

Over and above that, Mr Mngomezulu said they believed, in as much as it is traditional, that the Monarchy should be constitutional and not actively decisive in politics. He said the Monarchy was better off not being involved in political controversies because it publicly lessened its status.

"The Monarchy should be something similar to its counterparts in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Scandinavia where it is a cultural pride involved in activities like opening Parliament," he said.

He said Pudemo has a mixed economy approach in which the state also has to compete with private investors for a healthy national economy. He said in such an economy, the state would take advantage of investment mechanisms like Tibiyo and Tisuka Takangwane whose ventures are in most business concerns in the country.

He said Pudemo believes such an economy would be diversified into boosting the agro-industry and subsistence farming instead of leaving the field to only commercial farmers.

On what he thought of the direction of multi-party politics, Mr Mngomezulu said they were useful institutions for meaningful advancement as they promote transparency and accountability, the corner stones of democracy.

Cofudeswa's Chairman, Mr Sabelo Dlamini, said they are a solidarity group which facilitates political parties co-ordination.

He said for example if one party wishes to stage a political demonstration, they in turn appealed to the other affiliating parties for solidarity.

"In order to affiliate to us, a party must fulfil transparency, accountability, as well as checks and balances," he said.

He said Cofudeswa was not in effect a political party.

"We are just a co-ordinating organisation," he said.

Formed by the various political organisations, Cofudeswa's terms of reference are broad based. Still and all, he said Cofudeswa aims at a government into which policies and not personalities are voted for.

"We believe in the empowerment of the masses to eradicate poverty and servitude," he said.

He said amongst their objectives is canvassing for multi-party politics and basic human rights as enshrined in the United Nations' and the African Charters.

He said they also aim at enhancing aspirations of all progressive organisations which are obviously geared to one goal, freedom.

Mr Dlamini said Cofudeswa too was about a constitutional monarch because its involvement in politics was abused by cabals.

"We want the King to be constitutional and be relieved of political powers. As Swazis we all have an identity and pride in the King, we do not want to see that defaced," he said.

He said his assemblage believes the present cultural norm that the King be active in politics was out touch with modern times. Mr Dlamini said he saw political parties as being on the right track and tolerant.

Long serving but former Swayoco Secretary General, Mr Nhlanhla Mncina said his organisation aimed conscientising the youth to a point recognising their rights as enshrined the United Nations-Charter for Human Rights. He said this was so too in all other conventions where human rights are a feature.

He said Swayoco aimed at democratising all existing governmental structures. He said his organisation is about fair distribution of economic resources.

"We as Swayoco believe in free or at least subsidised education, free medical care and pension allowances for the old and disabled," he said.

He said Swayoco too believed in a constitutional Monarchy. He said they believe in the un-banning of all political parties and the return of exiles.

He said they believed in educating the nation on their individual human rights. He said they have to this extent been successful in that the nation and workers know what they are about hence the occurrence of strikes in the industrial arena.

"Everybody was scared before but now they freely talk about their rights," he said.

He said above all though, Swayoco is a youth organisation more than a political party.

According to a 21 years anniversary document for political parties entitled "The Struggle Against Repressive Laws and the State of Emergency in Swaziland", the "movement" in Swaziland was dormant until 1984.

Only after the subsequent student upheavals did Pudemo become the first group to come into existence after political parties were banned in 1973.

"The greatest achievement for Pudemo was to bridge the political lapse between 1973 and 1984 and enlightenment of the younger generation which was not well versed with the origin of their progress," it said.

This document is endorsed by among other parties, Pudemo, Swanafro, Cofudeswa and the Human Rights Association of Swaziland (Humaras).

It said in 1986, the oppression of the youth resulted in the formation of the radical youth organisation, Swayoco.

"Swayoco is pressurising the unaccountable government to cater for the youth, posterity, restoration of the inalienable rights of the oppressed and equal opportunities for all," the document said.

Referring to the formation of a human rights body, the document said that due to the erosion of human rights by the governance, local advocates of human rights mobilised and came together as Humaras.

"Humaras was moved by the sentiments of justice and respect for human dignity and the knowledge that disregard and contempt for human rights have brought suffering which have outraged the conscience of mankind as well as the desire to secure and maintain a society built upon freedom, justice and peace," it said.

With reference to Swanafro, the document said the majority of the organisation's supporters are civil servants.

It said in view of the existing repressive laws, even the names of some of the officials in the executive are kept secret except those who are not directly employed by government.

Swanafro's active executive members are Mrs Glenrose Dlamini and Mbho Shongwe, the latter in private employment while the former is a business woman.

In the 10 years since 1984, we have seen the mushrooming of many political parties most of whose member unknown save only for a few in the executive. The danger is that if it came to a voting situation, the votes would be diluted.

Cofudeswa's Mr Dlamini said though such a danger is there, the government transitional period would take care of the situation.

Pudemo's Mr Mngomezulu said in such a situation, no political party would be registered unless it meets a certain percentage of the population. In the final analysis though, the political groups have a lot of objectives in common.

Foremost amongst these is the call for a national convention or referendum in which the nation can publicly choose between multi-party politics or Tinkhundla [traditional community councils] system of government.

After all has been said, may this hopefully serve as an insight into the activities and concerns of groups that strike fear into some hearts and yet bring hope to the hearts of others.



## Zambia

### UNIP Splits Into 2 Camps; Factions Fight

MB2212164994 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 22 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The decision by former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to make a political comeback has caused ructions. A series of rallies he has held across the country has attracted political thuggery involving his supporters and those of the ruling MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy], and it seems there is now a serious split within the opposition United National Independence Party, UNIP, over who should be leading it now. Kaunda stepped down after his mighty defeat by the MMD in the last general elections. Now there are those who feel the current leader, Kebby Musokotwane, should make way for Kaunda again, and it has led to violent scenes in Lusaka. From Lusaka, Joey Mwiinga telexed this report:

The spirit of goodwill was rudely disrupted in the Zambian capital this morning as opposition cadres clashed over control of Freedom House, headquarters of the country's largest opposition party, UNIP. (Hundreds) of supporters of former President Kenneth Kaunda stormed the headquarters in a quest to eject party President Kebby Musokotwane and install Kaunda in his place. They were, however, restrained by armed police guards and a cluster of Mr. Musokotwane's sympathizers. A row ensued, and several people were injured as the rival camps clashed in a bloody free-for-all.

A police spokesman said later that no arrests had been made. The UNIP party was split into two last weekend, when a faction led by Vice President Patrick Mvunga expelled Musokotwane from the party at an irregular (?vote of no) confidence. The Mvunga faction had [words indistinct] Musokotwane to step down to pave the way for the return of former President Kaunda to the party's helm. Musokotwane, however, has refused to relinquish his position, saying Kaunda must be patient and wait for the next party elections, as demanded by the constitution.

## Zimbabwe

### Export Needs, Impediments Examined

#### 'Export or Die'

95AF0024A Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
ECONOMIST in English Nov 94 pp 29-33, 43-47

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The saying "export or die" used to be regarded as just another catch phrase to exhort manufacturers to greater efforts at exporting. But since the start of Zimbabwe's structural adjustment programme in 1991, the phrase has taken on an ominous

meaning and companies are discovering that if they do not export, they stand a real chance of going under.

Several factors have made exports more important. Since the drought in 1992 and even before then, the liberalisation of the economy had sapped at people's disposable income and the domestic demand for almost any product was weak. Companies just had to expand their markets to survive.

The deregulation of the market brought with it high inflation as interest rates were freed and foreign exchange was left to find its own value. Companies which had borrowed cheap money to reequip in the days of negative interest rates suddenly found themselves with huge debts when interest rates were deregulated and they shot up in sympathy with the high inflation rate.

For those companies which wanted to reequip, the cost of money became prohibitive and although foreign lines of credit were available at deceptively low interest rates, they were a dangerous trap for any company which borrowed but could not find the foreign exchange from exports to repay. Borrowing to supply the local market could be very expensive if the local currency was devalued, so only exporters could make use of the foreign lines of credit.

But some companies were caught with their pants down. "This has been the worst period in our history," says Mercy Sidile, managing director of a Bulawayo-based textile manufacturer Merlin. "When interest rates went up, we had just borrowed about Z\$40m (US\$8m) to reequip and overnight our interest repayments shot up and at the same time the domestic market shrunk as the impact of the drought hit the economy."

Around the same time, South Africa refused to renew a long-standing preferential agreement on Zimbabwean textiles and instead imposed punitive tariffs which resulted in the market for Zimbabwean textiles in South Africa shrinking.

The situation was not helped when the government removed the 9-percent export incentive scheme arguing that it was a direct subsidy to manufacturers and was therefore against the spirit of GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade].

The residential economist at the World Bank Mission in Harare, Kapil Kapoor, agrees that the incentive was inconsistent with GATT but argues that there was nothing to stop the government from negotiating its phased removal. "Materially the incentive was insignificant," he says, "but psychologically it was important." By removing the incentive, he says, the government has sent the wrong message to manufacturers making them feel that exports are not important.

In his opinion, manufacturing in Zimbabwe is too capital intensive and fails to take advantage of the cheap, relatively well trained and productive labour in the country. "We should push for exports which have a high

labour content in their production," he says. In the past, the strict labour regulations which did not allow employers to fire workers at will persuaded many companies to become capital intensive. The culture was helped by the government which did not allow imports to compete with local production. As a result, consumers paid a high price for the poor investment decisions of companies which manufactured products uncompetitively. But the liberalisation of the economy had shown up inefficient companies which could no longer stand the heat.

But Mr A de la Rue of Coopers and Lybrands disagrees. He says the capital intensive nature of Zimbabwe's production processes is in line with other countries which are at the same level of industrialisation. "If we want to compete with other countries in the production of goods, then we must invest equally in capital intensive industries, we need efficient production methods," he says.

He, however, points out that a lot of industries are still using outdated machinery. "Because of the current cost of money, some companies have not been able to recapitalise. If you are going to compete internationally, you need to update your machinery."

Besides the outdated machinery, Mr de la Rue thinks some Zimbabwean manufacturers have not yet adjusted to more efficient methods of management: "We are not cutting costs to be more efficient and that is why our textile industry has gone bust although it had acquired the latest machinery." Zimbabwean companies, he says, were used to supplying the local market which had no competition and was protected from imports. They will have to adjust quickly to survive in the new environment.

Some companies have adjusted. Jane Roberts, Export Coordinator for Bernstein clothing, says her company exports 30 percent of its output, this compares favourably with export volumes of only 5 percent common to many other industries. "We export men's and boys' shirts and trousers and hold the licence for the manufacture of British Van Heusen shirts for most countries in Africa except South Africa," she says. The removal of the 9-percent export incentive scheme has however also affected the company and its exports have dropped by 50 percent this year as a result, Mrs Roberts says.

Zimbabwe's main competitor on the export market for manufactured goods is South Africa, followed by Kenya and to a much lesser extent, Malawi, Botswana and Namibia. Zimbabwe's advantage over South Africa is its better knowledge of the workings of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) rules of origin and of the Clearing House, which is situated in Harare. South Africa on the other hand is not a member of the PTA so Zimbabwean exporters can persuade customers to buy through the PTA.

Zimbabwe also has the advantage that its labour costs are much lower than South Africa making its products

cheaper. But South Africa beats Zimbabwe hands down in quality and according to Edmund Chawira, manager for export development at Zimtrade, "is miles ahead in terms of finish and packaging."

South Africa also has the advantage of proximity for countries like Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia, Botswana and southern Mozambique. But perhaps more important, South African exporters get export rebates of up to 30 percent, similar to the 9-percent incentive scheme which was removed in Zimbabwe. South Africa also offers tax incentives to its exporters while Zimbabwe does not.

South African banks are also more friendly to exporters. In the case of exporters to Malawi, for instance, Nedbank offers them a standing credit line of R25m (US\$8m). Zimbabwean exporters on the other hand do not have such a facility and have to establish letters of credit, tying up their capital in the process. According to Mr Chawira, the cost of establishing a letter of credit is anything up to 20 percent of the value of the exports.

Because of the high cost of money in Zimbabwe, its exporters give a credit of only 45 days. But South African exporters can afford to give their customers 90 days. A Flexible credit arrangement can sway the decision of customers who are watching their cash flows.

But there are other threats to exporters from developing countries. In developed countries, there is now a growing demand for environmentally friendly products. For instance, although Zimbabwe now exports furniture made from hardwoods to Europe, there is a growing environmental lobby against furniture made from hardwoods from environmentalists in Europe.

Regulations for food export are even more stringent. Mr Chawira says. And where they are enforced will bar many products from developing countries which fail to meet the criteria. There are regulations on cholesterol levels in food, fat in cheeses, asbestos dust in asbestos products and the growing anti-tobacco lobby is hitting tobacco producers. The problem in developing countries is that manufacturers may not have the technology to cope with the new demands and will lose out on the markets.

Another problem with developing exports of manufactured goods in the region is that most manufacturing industries were established for import substitution. They were therefore geared to manufacture for the local market, which was often captive because imports were not allowed in. The result was that quality was poor (it was a take it or leave it situation) and quantities produced were typically geared to a small market. "The Asian Tigers see the world as their market, but here exporters tend to think small," Mr Chawira says.

One way for manufacturers to get over the problem of lack of capacity to supply large orders for their export market would be to subcontract part of the work to

smaller companies to enable them to meet orders. The only condition would be that they monitor quality. "Manufacturers should make products acceptable to the global market," Mr Chawira says.

Ernest Kadembo, a lecturer in Business Studies at the University of Zimbabwe, says another problem with aspiring exporters is the lack of information: "Some exporters do not know where to get information relating to their markets and products," he says.

To help exporters, Zimtrade has established several databases for exporters giving details about who imports what and in what quantities. "The database makes the region more accessible to exporters," Mr Kadembo says.

Mr Kadembo says Zimbabwean manufacturers have made an impact on the region where they have been able to sell their products but have fared less well on overseas markets.

He attributes their limited success on the overseas markets to the exacting standards demanded by importers there. For instance, few products manufactured in Zimbabwe qualify for the International Standards Organisation ISO9000 rating. He says the process of meeting this standard is rigorous but the rewards are real. In Zimbabwe, the ISO9000 is administered by the Standards Association of Zimbabwe, which gives the ratings as SASZ300.

When Zimbabwe's Central Africa Cables (CAFCA) got the rating, Mr Kadembo says, demand for its products shot through the roof because customers were assured that they were getting value for their money. There are only about six or so companies in Zimbabwe whose products have qualified for the rating.

Zimbabwean manufacturing companies have come a long way from the days when they lorded it over their customers because goods were in short supply. With trade liberalisation, the customer is once more the king and manufacturers are finding out that offered a choice, the customer both local and regional is very demanding and they have to improve their standards. The resilient companies are surviving and growing, but the government should play its part by reducing its budget deficit and so help lower inflation in order to create a level playing field for its exporters competing against better managed economies.

#### Incentives Missing

When Zimbabwe launched its Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) four years ago, the government's Framework for Economic Reform, which set the targets for the programme, projected that exports would fund 80 percent of ESAP's requirements and that this sector would grow at an average of 5.5 percent between 1990 to 1995.

With less than one year to go in the first phase of ESAP, prospects of achieving this target are slim and the government has been blamed for the failure of the sector to grow.

"Exporters feel that it is no longer worthwhile to export," complains Joe Foroma, the chief economist at the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), who has been at the forefront of the campaign to win government support for exporters.

The bone of contention between the government and the private sector is the withdrawal last January of the 9 percent tax free export incentive scheme, which the government regarded as a direct subsidy to exporters.

The private sector insists that the government has got its facts wrong. Many companies were still struggling to establish themselves in new markets, while the macro-economic situation at home is not favourable to business. High interest rates, which have hovered above 25 percent during the past three years, have squeezed further the competitiveness of local manufacturers.

When the incentive scheme was abolished, South Africa had just slapped punitive tariffs on Zimbabwean textile exports. Manufacturers argue that taken together, these factors have made life difficult for them.

But the government thinks otherwise. It argues that the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar boosted earnings of exporting companies in local currency. That is partly true. But it is also true that for companies which depend on imported intermediate raw materials, the devaluation meant higher costs for imported materials. Industry sources estimate that overall costs have increased by between 25 percent and 40 percent, since the 17-percent devaluation and subsequent floatation of the currency last January, further squeezing profit margins. "The incentives were removed before our companies had completed the process of adjustment and the switch to export markets," Mr Foroma says.

The president of Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce (ZNCC), Ted Makoni, says that although his association "accepts the government's view that incentives are subsidies" the issues have to be seen "in their proper perspective." Most companies, he says, had borrowed heavily in the pre-ESAP period, taking advantage of the previous regime of low and negative interest rates. When the financial sector was liberalised in 1992, many companies saw their debts shoot up and many are still struggling to repay the debts. "Given this scenario," Mr Foroma says, "it is obvious that companies cannot afford to expand their export base" without government assistance.

In its latest quarterly review of the economy, the First Merchant Bank supports industry's views. It says although part of the challenge of reviving exports may lie with the private sector, given the history of past distortions "removing the safety cushions and exposing the industry to competition and markets has put its future seriously at risk," particularly if the fact that "most textiles industries in other parts of the world are given considerable state assistance" is taken into account.

The CZI has submitted proposals to the government suggesting how the government can assist the exporting sector.



The proposals were in two categories. One category was on incentives that would not have budgetary implications for the government and the second category consisted of double deductions on expenditures incurred by exporting firms. In both categories the government would forego revenue in the short term, instead of setting aside cash payments to exporters as was the case with the previous incentive scheme.

One option was the introduction of certificates exempting companies from import duty in amounts equivalent to the share of the company's output destined for export markets. Firms would then use the value accrued to their certificates against import duties payable for future imports. The certificates could also be traded on the market. This system would replace the present duty drawback under which exporters can claim back the duty paid on raw materials processed for exports, which exporters describe as fraught with bureaucratic delays. "We wanted a system that has a direct impact on the cash flow of companies" but no direct implication on government outlays, Mr Foroma says. But so far the government has remained silent on the issue.

The textile sector claims that this year exports will fall by 50 percent from Z\$300m (US\$36.5m) to Z\$150 million partly due to the absence of incentives. "It is all very discouraging," Mr Foroma says adding that the performance of the manufacturing sector has been declining since January.

The First Merchant Bank says that figures for the first six months of 1994 show that "very little momentum has

been added to the slow rate of recovery established for the manufacturing sector in the last quarter of 1994." The bank estimates that since 1980 the manufacturing output has gone up by 33.2 percent.

Even the government's decision to scrap import duty on capital goods and the reduction of the import surtax have had little impact on the performance of the manufacturing sector.

The thinking within cabinet was that this would be the best way to assist companies in manufacturing which were reequipping. But industry sources argue that capital goods are for new investment and so scrapping duty on them will not bring relief for companies trying to maximise returns and utilisation on existing capacity. Mr Foroma says that "the exemption of duty on capital goods does not help to increase production." He adds that the impact of the removal of duties on capital goods will only be felt in the medium to long term.

Industrialists feel that the government should have gone a step further to include imported raw materials in the exemption from duties and surtax, which they say would enhance the performance of the export sector and increase production in the short-term.

The government's reluctance to accept the reality that exporting companies are facing difficult times is baffling. "Maybe this is part of the new philosophy of not caring much about the industries which existed before the launching of ESAP," moaned one source.

## Ghana

### Most Liberian Faction Leaders Depart Accra

AB2312195694 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Most of the Liberian warring faction leaders left Accra this afternoon for home after signing the cease-fire accord. The leader of the Liberia National Transitional Government, Mr. David Kpomakpor, told the GBC [Ghana Broadcasting Corporation] that he would have wished that the Accra conference had addressed the issue of disarmament instead of emphasizing the issue of governance. He said, without disarmament the issue of peace will be hanging.

Mr. Kpomakpor recalled the Cotonou, Akosombo, and the last two documents executed in Accra and alleged that his administration had been unable to execute its agenda because of armaments. He said he intends to tell the people of Liberia to support the effort of the facilitators, especially the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] chairman, Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, on the question of sincerity to the spirit of the accord.

Mr. Kpomakpor said the facilitators are sincere and committed to the accord, especially those who have contributed troops and money to ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], but he regretted that because of the delicate nature of the problem, the facilitators have lost sight of some of the intricate issues, particularly, disarmament.

## Liberia

### Taylor Takes Stock of Five-Year War

AB2512165394 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 24 Dec 94

[From the Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Five years ago to the day, an unknown Liberian rang this program and announced that he and his rebel group had invaded northeast Liberia from Ivory Coast [Cote d'Ivoire]. The invasion by Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] soon gathered momentum, especially after the then President Samuel Doe's army slaughtered hundreds of civilians in the northeast. Charles Taylor has twice been close to taking over the Executive Mansion in Monrovia in 1990 and 1992, but he was ultimately prevented by the intervention of the Nigerian-led ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force. The war has left hundreds of thousands dead, many more displaced, and a country in ruins. Various peace treaties have floundered, new warring factions have sprung up. But, last week, there was a gleamer of hope as another peace agreement was signed in Accra. On the line to Ganta, in

northeastern Liberia, Matthew Tostevin asked Charles Taylor if he had any regrets:

[Begin recording] [Taylor] We regret that we had to take so long. This is the extent of our regrets but not to the extent that the cleaning up of this country did not occur. We think that the process will help Liberia in the long run.

[Tostevin] Are you willing to apologize to the families of all the people that died in this war over the last five years?

[Taylor] We have done that all along. We have expressed our apologies to all of the families. We regret all of the terrible things that were done. There have been several massacres in this country, some of them were attributed to the NPFL and later found out to be all lies.

[Tostevin] But so many people have died.

[Taylor] People die in war. People have died too in European wars. People have died all over the world.

[Tostevin] Don't you think you're going to have to take a lot of the blame for what has gone on in the last five years?

[Taylor] Well, the general intention by some politicians and some terrible people has been to try to do exactly that, have the blame laid on us. But if you look in Monrovia right now, the reaction of the citizens happens to be one that is saying, well, wait a minute, they've said all these terrible things about Charles Taylor and the NPFL but we are finding those things to be wrong and now the citizens are reacting. They are really for me and so right now, if I were to enter Monrovia, that would be the end of this entire war. The people are ready to receive me, they are ready for my leadership and that of the NPFL, and I am saying if they call upon me to go now and assume the leadership, I will do it and I am sure it will be the end of this war.

[Tostevin] So, if they do like you so much Mr. Taylor, why did they not call on you in the last five years?

[Taylor] They are calling upon me right now. I'm a Christian, knowing that I believe in God Almighty that the fact would eventually come out and our people would have seen the truth. They have seen the truth and I have often said that this is God's war. God has his hands on this Liberian situation and He is going to control it in His own way and that is what you see right now.

[Tostevin] As a Christian, do you expect to go to hell?

[Taylor] I believe in one God, Yahweh, the God of this universe. I believe in forgiveness and I believe that I was sent to carry on a mission. During those difficult days, God ordered (?armies) to war. I believe that my soul is going to rest in peace with Him.

[Tostevin] Is the war still going to be going on in another five years time?

[Taylor] No. This war is not ended. We're going to have a cease-fire as planned and a new government is going to be installed. I am saying to you, if I have to go to Monrovia now, based on the call of the people to bring peace to this country, with the proper security, I will go. I will (?lead to a peace process) now if I have to, to bring it to an end. [end recording]

### **Further Action Taken To Punish Massacre Perpetrators**

*AB2212101994 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 21 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Last week's massacre by armed men in Paynesville, a suburb of the Liberian capital, Monrovia, has infuriated the local people. There have been big protest demonstrations against the warring factions, who are still pursuing the civil war in spite of the repeated peace talks in Ghana. The crowds turned their anger on property belonging to the factions, and although there have been arrests of soldiers of the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia] the ruling Council is obviously concerned and wants to satisfy the people sickened by the never-ending bloodshed—and now they have taken further action. From Monrovia, Nyenati Allison telexed this report:

The five-member ruling Council in Monrovia last night announced the setting up of a 13-man independent commission of inquiry to probe the Paynesville massacre. A broadcast on radio said that traditional elders, human rights activists, lawyers, trade unionists, clergymen, students, businessmen, and journalists would make up the commission, which would begin investigations into the massacre within 48 hours.

The broadcast said the commission would have full powers to interview all the persons it deemed appropriate, and added that plans were under way to set up a war crimes tribunal to try all those who perpetrated or participated in the Paynesville massacre. Referring to the lack of an action over bringing the perpetrators of the 1993 Harbel massacre to book, the government said this time there will be speedy justice and the full weight of the law will be felt.

Talk of the massacre still dominates conversation in Monrovia. On Monday [19 December] people, frustrated by the killings and the slow pace of the peace process, marched in their thousands through the streets of Monrovia. The death toll in the Paynesville massacre has now risen to 67, after health workers said they'd discovered some 19 bodies in the surrounding bushes.

### **Government Reaffirms Support for ECOMOG**

*AB2612113594 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900  
GMT 26 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The government has reaffirmed its support for ECOMOG [Economic Community of

West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and the national security forces in ensuring that lives and property are protected. At a joint council and cabinet meeting on Saturday [24 December], the government praised them for restoring calm to the city of Monrovia in the wake of the Paynesville massacre. The government is meanwhile urging the public and government officials who do not have curfew passes to leave the streets after 7 PM. The government says no one is above the law and a curfew remains in full swing. Regarding the community watch teams, the government reemphasized its support for their efforts in providing security but advised that their activities be done in collaboration with ECOMOG and the national security forces. Meanwhile, the Liberian Government has extended congratulations and warmest season's greetings to ECOMOG and the national security forces.

In a related development, the field commanders of the multinational peacekeeping force in Liberia have urged their officers and men to remain steadfast in their duty to their countries and Liberia. In special Christmas messages, the field commander Major General John M. Inienger and his two deputies Brigadier Gen. Seth Obeng, and Colonel Kafala Camara reminded the force that no sacrifice is too big to pay for peace and unity in Africa. Gen. Inienger extended greetings to all officers and men under his command from Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda. He assured their families and loved ones that they are doing well. For his part, the first deputy field commander Brig. Gen. Seth Obeng praised the chairman and leaders of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] and other facilitators for bringing about the signing of the latest peace accord on Liberia. The second deputy field commander Col. Kafala Camara called on faction leaders to respond to the appeals and sacrifices of West African leaders and unite to bring peace to their own people.

## **Nigeria**

### **Government Ratifies WTO Agreement**

*AB2412180594 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in  
English 0600 GMT 24 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nigeria has ratified the final agreement on the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations establishing the World Trade Organization [WTO]. With the ratification the country is now qualified to be a full member of the global trade organization. The minister of commerce and tourism, Chief Melford Okilo, was at the head of the country's delegation to the implementation conference of the organization which took place recently in Geneva, Switzerland.

### **Army Warned Against Involvement in Politics**

*AB2212190594 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700  
GMT 22 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Nigerian Army has warned its officers and soldiers against engaging in partisan



politics. The general officer commanding [GOC], 1st Mechanized Division of the Army, Brigadier General Ahmed Abdullahi, gave the warning while addressing officers and soldiers of the 41st Engineers' Brigade at (?Galit) Barracks, Kaduna. Brig. Gen. Abdullahi said the present administration was determined to insulate soldiers from politics and warned politicians to keep off military barracks.

The GOC explained that no political campaign and polling booths would be permitted in barracks, saying soldiers who want to vote would be required to go outside the barracks in [words indistinct] to do so. Brig. Gen. Ahmed Abdullahi announced that full political activities might be lifted early next year after the report of the constitutional conference has been submitted to the government. On the military, he said the Army would henceforth embark on direct labor in the execution of some projects through the use of Army engineers.

#### **Abacha Presents Christmas Message**

*AB2512165994 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 25 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nigerians have been asked to rededicate themselves to the service of the nation and eschew activities which can undermine the collective efforts to make the nation a better place for all. The head of state, General Sani Abacha, made the appeal today in his Christmas and New Year message to the nation.

Gen. Abacha emphasized that the relative stability the nation now enjoyed showed the confidence Nigerians had in their common destiny. He said that the salvation of nation laid in her determination to face problems and find solutions to them.

The head of state also said that Nigerians had shown love and understanding for one another and the willingness to sacrifice in the service of the nation despite the differences in their religious leanings, political beliefs, and culture. He reiterated the determination of the present administration to tackle the economic problems and return the country to democratic governance.

Gen. Abacha said as Nigerians celebrate Christmas they should give a sober thought to the needy who are unable to rejoice for one constraint or another. He called on Nigerians to be ready to show love and care by sharing what they had in the knowledge of the supreme belief that it was more blessed to give than to receive.

The commander in chief said Nigerians must imbibe the lessons of Christmas which were sacrifice to mankind, selfless love to all, and the spirit of sharing and caring for neighbors.

#### **Cocaine Smuggler, Drug Traffickers Arrested**

*AB2412161094 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 23 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A 40-year old woman, Mrs Bola Bayiwu, has been arrested by operatives of the National

Drug Law Enforcement Agency [NDLEA] at the Murtala Mohammed International Airport while attempting to export 1.8 kg of cocaine. She had concealed the cocaine in pepper soup. Mrs Bayiwu who was making final arrangements to board a KLM flight to Amsterdam, was holding a Nigerian passport belonging to another woman, one Mrs Mutiatu Adoni Alibalogun.

In another development, NDLEA officials in Ondo State have arrested six suspects, among them, two military men for being in possession of 480 bags of Indian hemp weighing over 3,000 kg. The military men, Lance Corporal Vitus Atalia and the naval leading physical instructor, Oduwaga Brandon, have their duty posts in Lagos where they were arrested along the (Akure Awa) Road.

Reacting to the arrest, the chairman chief executive of the NDLEA, Major General Musa Bameyi, expressed displeasure at the increasing incidence of hemp peddling in Ondo State. He restated that anyone caught for drug offenses will face appropriate penalties.

### **Sierra Leone**

#### **Rebels Reportedly Launch New Onslaught**

*AB2612215194 Paris AFP in English 1931 GMT 26 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Freetown, Dec 26 (AFP)—Sierra Leonean rebels have launched a series of attacks on the centre, east and south of the country, diplomatic sources said here Monday.

The attacks by the Revolutionary United Front [RUF], launched over the weekend, came after the failure of a mediation mission by UN special envoy Felix Moshia, the sources said.

According to unconfirmed reports, the rebels attacked a camp for displaced persons at Gondama, 170 kilometres (110 miles) southeast of Freetown, and some 40 civilians died attempting to flee over the river Sewa.

On Sunday around 100 expatriate employees of US and Swiss firms at Moyamba, 100 kilometres (60 miles) east of here, returned to the capital after receiving threats of rebel attacks.

Other attacks were reported from the towns of Sumbuya, in the south, Kenema, in the southeast, and Magburaka, in the centre, the diplomatic sources said.

No indication of casualties was given. A defence ministry official indicated that the regular army had taken control of each of these towns, inflicting "devastating losses" on the rebels.

Envoy Moshia, who arrived here on December 17, left for New York at the end of last week "without being able to make contact" with the RUF rebels.

The conflict has left more than 5,000 people dead since it began in May 1991, officials say.

#### **Presidential Pardon Frees 35 Prisoners**

*AB2612214894 Paris AFP in English 1538 GMT 26 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Freetown, Dec 26 (AFP)—Some 35 prisoners have been freed after receiving a Christmas Day pardon from their president, Captain Valentine Strasser, prison officials said in the west African country's capital Freetown Monday.

Four of the 35 had been sentenced to death in October 1987 for a coup attempt against the regime of then president Joseph Momoh, the officials said. That regime was overthrown in a coup in April 1992 led by Captain Strasser.

The four's death sentences had earlier been commuted to life in prison.

The other 31 prisoners freed Sunday were jailed for committing offences under ordinary criminal legislation, the prison board officials added.

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